

How to read: Interpreting responses to Reformation change through material interventions
including marginalia in a 1537 printed primer.

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the physical condition and readers' marks in a primer (W/S-10-3) printed in English and Latin in 1537 in relation to how it was used during the Henrician Reformation, and how this use gave it value as an artefact demonstrating cultural heritage to later readers. W/S-10-3 provided a platform for religious dispute, where readers demonstrate a public versus private conflict of faith through the means of marginalia and alterations via paper cutting to the scripture within its pages. The Henrician Reformation provided a complex backdrop to print culture development and the expanding market for vernacular devotional literature. Devotional reading was an opportunistic method of disseminating reform, because religious books were required for the structure of Renaissance life and the literate population structured their daily routines around the prayers within these books. They were then also equally as useful for the resistance to said reform, drawing a veil between state intervention into public devotion and steadfast traditionalism in private devotion. How the primer's printer navigated censorship utilising their editorial abilities will also be discussed in this thesis. Finally, while the book is at its heart a devotional work, with its survival beyond the Henrician Reformation into the rest of the sixteenth century it also becomes an artefact with value in legacy for those descended from the conflict. The later uses of the primer and how this relates to its origins will be evaluated with the addition of archival research. The aim is to provide a valued addition to the current scholarship on marginalia practices and through this study, and in the photos and appendices, provide a resource for further study.

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Introduction

The intention of this thesis is to analyse how best to read marginalia and readers' marks in a sixteenth-century primer that was subject to censorship and has later repurposing. The aim is to provide a valued addition to the current scholarship on marginalia practices and present an argument that the evidence that a printed Reformation primer's contents could provide for multiple research topics makes it worthy of a digitisation for use in current and emerging research practices. This thesis will also become a resource for further study of the book by supplying images, a Codicological Analysis and detailed appendices surveying material that would support further study with or without the digitisation.

Titled *Thys Prymer in Englyshe and Laten is newly translated after the Laten text*, the primer that this project will analyse is currently stored in the Canterbury Cathedral Library under shelf reference W/S-10-3, which will be how this thesis will refer to the book from here onwards.¹ The book has been altered through different methods, including sixteenth-century marginalia and Reformation excisions, and some restructuring later in its life. W/S-10-3 is printed in both the English vernacular and Latin, with a distinct style of formatting of section and verse headings, as well as historiated initials and columns of text. This formatting is designed to guide a reader newly introduced to vernacular religious books, due to the developments of the Henrician Reformation, through its contents. The book contains some small woodcuts to aid interpretation but predominantly relies on the formatting to direct the reader and help them locate sections and verses. Therefore, the volume of W/S-10-3 is likely intended for use by an individual either at home or when carried to church, but is not suitable for use by a congregation or group. This too is supported by its size: quarto, more befitting of private devotion or use in the home. Through the effects of the Reformation the physical alterations to the book have complicated the interpretations

¹ Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library, W/S-10-3. Redman, Robert (printer). *Thys Prymer in Englyshe and Laten is Newly Translayted after the Laten Texte*. London, UK: 1537.

of this once structured reading pattern by slashing areas, removing bindings and trimming the text block. The marginalia, readers' marks, and physical alterations form their own patterns and become less frequent towards the end of the book.

W/S-10-3 was printed in 1537 by London printer Robert Redman, listed in the English Short Title Catalogue (STC) as 15997; it is a heavily edited version of his first Sarum use primer, produced in 1535.² Both Redman's 1535 and 1537 editions were copied in 1536 and 1538 respectively by a French printer based in Rouen named Nicholas Le Roux, who was an agent of Paris bookseller Francois Regnault. Le Roux's 1536 edition was a partial copy, but in 1538 the copy was a near-exact imprint of STC 15997. This causes some confusion when attempting to identify the editions of each of these primers. Part of the scholarly relevance of this project lies in introducing an argument for the digitisation of W/S-10-3 to allow further research on similar subjects and to aid differentiation between the 1537 and 1538 editions. However, the fact that these two editions have the same exact content was useful during this project. Due to this exacting copying of Redman's work, the thesis will use a modern printed version of Le Roux's 1538 primer as a textual source to cross reference the primer text with, as the restricted access to W/S-10-3 and the lack of digitised copies available in the STC makes it difficult to quote directly from W/S-10-3. Of the nine known copies of the book held in archives and private collections, listed in the ESTC, there is only one microfilm available of STC 15997, taken from the Folger Shakespeare Library.³ Much of the original content is missing, as well as being dirty and the microfilm itself is in poor condition. While for the Le Roux primer of 1538, there are ten known copies of the book listed in the ESTC, of which three have been digitised into microfilms.⁴ The survival of these primers at all is rare, and near-completeness of W/S-10-3 is an even rarer survival of this Redman edition and deserves greater value, and a digitisation together with the resource put forward in this thesis will aid further study of the book.

² Charles Butterworth. *The English Primers 1529-1545* (USA: University of Pennsylvania Press (1953) P.131.

³ Folger Shakespeare Library HH170/6 and HH170/7; Microfilm of HH170/6.

⁴ Bodleian Library, 016434606 (reel 2030) and 021766253; British library.

Part of Redman's changes made to his 1535 primer that produce the 1537 edition is the addition of a new preface – a message from Redman to the reader on the contents of the book – and interjections at the beginnings of each of the chapters that were considered conservative, on what they contain and why they should be included. These changes were also copied by the Rouen printers in 1538. Their decision to copy a successful English primer was likely caused by the competition presented by other imported primers, which had dominated the book trade in England since 1526. But, as Mary C. Erler notes, while 'these books feature a systematic attempt to present more vernacular elements: English verse, an English title-page and more English devotional material' they were not historically as restricted as English printers in their contents.⁵ This caused competition not only for printers like Redman, but also for the monarchy and the Church who were trying to control the influx of literature. As the Reformation gained momentum and started focusing on the book trade, imported literature was becoming more closely scrutinised, and 'imported and unaltered primers were banned in 1538, and with the King's Primer in 1545, we see moves towards legislated uniformity in English devotion' which would have stifled Rouen's press in this market.⁶

The Reformation provided a complex backdrop to print culture development. Print had been used as much for 'conformity and uniformity as for dissent and diversity' and printing propaganda began as early as Edward IV and was continued into the sixteenth century by both Church and Crown.⁷ Both Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell were aware that 'the printing press had become – and would remain – a dangerous weapon in the hands of the enemy', and those that earned the epithet 'enemy' would in turn include not only Lollards and Lutherans, but also specific printers, clerics and others as Reformation legislation began to include mandates against literature that was seen as a potential threat to the new regime.⁸ The King revealed his 'personal interest in

⁵ Mary C. Erler. 'Devotional Literature', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol 3 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp.495-525. P. 503.

⁶ Matthew Milner. *The Senses and the English Reformation* (London, UK: Ashgate publishing, 2003). P.270.

⁷ Richard Rex. *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). P.84.

⁸ Erler, 607.

censorship... by a proclamation in 1529 against heretical books'.⁹ In 1536 books that supported papal authority were banned too, and in 1538 'Henry issued a proclamation banning the importation of any book printed in English', acknowledging that the presses from Europe had been repeatedly subverting royal policy.¹⁰ Thereby he decided that the most effective way to prevent these books reaching the hands of the population was to ban them all, rather than sift through the printers and titles to find the ones he wished to make illegal. Later in 'November 1538 [a] proclamation which banned controversial marginalia and prefaces also demanded that all images of Thomas Becket should be destroyed, and that all offices, antiphons and prayers in his name should be erased and put out of all the books'.¹¹ The most extensive censoring of the English presses came in 1543 with the *Act for the Advancement of True Religion* which finally laid a blanket ban across all books, new and already in possession, that contradicted the new religious teachings of the Reformation (and specifically those being printed in English).¹² It gave new stronger powers to issue penalties to dissenters and 'empowered the king and clergy to examine religious books before they were published'.¹³ Finally, in 1545, the King's Primer was printed.¹⁴ It drew upon Reformer sources for prayers and excluded 'all indulgence rubrics and systematically substitut[ed] scriptural readings for the more widely drawn readings of the traditional service'.¹⁵ Conservative content was included but reduced and all politically contentious references carefully removed.

Despite the introduction of this legislation, the Henrician Reformation was less focused on what to believe than how to practice faith and to whom you could pray. The censorship of literature

⁹ Rex, 93.

¹⁰ Rex, 93.

¹¹ Eamon Duffy. *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers* (New Haven, USA: Yale University Press, 2011). P.151.

¹² Pamela Neville-Singeton. 'Press, Politics and Religion', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol 3 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 576-607. P.607.

¹³ Rex, 94.

¹⁴ King Henry VIII. *The Primer Set Forth Bye King's Majesty and His Clergy, to be Thought, Learned and Read. 1545*. [London, 1545].

¹⁴ Rex, 103.

¹⁵ Rex, 103.

focused on themes that would contradict the changes in the mass service or undermine the right of the King as Supreme Head of the Church of England, such as the history of Thomas Becket's sainthood. The dividing line between Catholic and Protestant was yet to be drawn, as Patrick Collinson argues 'there was no symmetry or perfect match in this process. Not even Henry VIII could control what all those people might make of scripture' when the English Bible was introduced, and there was no sudden change.¹⁶ Differences of opinion emerged, but these could be defined better as conservatives and reformers, both of whom were still Catholic through belief but divided by the level to which they agreed with changes to their practice. There remained 'countervailing, conservative forces, including the other half of the King's religious brain, which still clung strongly to the doctrine of the real presence in the Mass and other traditional things', and to be Catholic at this time did not directly correspond with heresy.¹⁷ This was a period of transition, where changes were implemented and expected to be adopted, with the margins of what was the 'correct' religion moving a little at a time, introducing reform to the population at an unpredictable pace. As a result, the population learned to separate public and private devotion, to immediately appear reformed in Church and in front of others, but in private to move at a pace more comfortable for them, even if that meant not moving at all. Mandates on what scripture would become illegal were then introduced and 'from the late 1530's even primers produced in the traditional style show signs of adaptation to reformed emphases, most obviously in the exclusion of Becket and papal Saints'.¹⁸ W/S-10-3 has been adapted by reader intervention through excisions to ensure that it would remain a legal book to own, but that private devotion would be relatively unhindered, as many of these excisions do not affect the legibility of the text being excised. This only adds to what we can discern about readership of Reformation books from W/S-10-3, as Janet Hoskins acknowledges that,

¹⁶ Patrick Collinson. *The Reformation* (London, UK: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 2003). P.109.

¹⁷ Collinson, 110.

¹⁸ Eamon Duffy. *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, USA: Yale University Press, 1992). P.445.

The ways in which ‘things’ actively constitute new social contexts, working as technologies... can make religious change... or political allegiance visible as a feature of people’s behavior and domestic life.¹⁹

The changes that were made to W/S-10-3 as a result of religious change will give substance to arguments on how visible political allegiance and obedience to that change really was, as the way in which alterations are made complicates the authenticity of the reader’s behavior.

Due to the complexity of the book’s formatting and the high number of reader interventions in the book it was necessary at the beginning of the research for this thesis to map all these elements in a Codicological Analysis, together with a completed catalogue. This also produced two appendices to this thesis: a complete is of the contents of W/S-10-3 with page references, and a table listing all the excisions and marginalia found in W/S-10-3, including page references and a description of the material lost. Thus, the Codicological Analysis began as not only an extensive page by page analysis of marginalia and excisions, but also served as a map of the doctrinal content and a description of the layout of pages. When writing the main body of the thesis the Codicological Analysis served as an invaluable source of marginalia locations that aided the distinguishing of patterns and anomalies. Analysing the book page by page also allowed the identification of alterations that may have been otherwise missed. Once these had been identified, the Codicological Analysis later became discursive. The Codicological Analysis also helped the interdisciplinary nature of the research required for this thesis, which while rooted in literature study also required historical archival research and material analysis. Sarah Werner’s book *Studying Early Printed Books 1450-1800* has been an invaluable guide to the taxonomy and methodology required for navigating catalogue records and formulating one for W/S-10-3.²⁰

¹⁹ Janet Hoskins. ‘Agency, Biography and Objects’, in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Chris Tilley & Webb Keane, (London, UK: Sage, 2013) pp.74-84. P.75.

²⁰ Sarah Werner. *Studying Early Printed Books 1450-1800* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2019).

This thesis will bring together different scholarly approaches needed to interpret the different aspects of the book, from its materiality, familial history, religious content and the language used within it. It has required an interdisciplinary approach including theology, material conservation, history and literature, while also requiring it's researcher to be a bibliographer. Even then, there isn't capacity to study the full scope of the book's potential investigations. There are many small woodcuts within W/S-10-3 that are used, like the formatting but to a lesser extent, to guide a reader through the contents of the book. However, the priorities of this thesis are the analysis of textual content and reader intervention, and there isn't capacity to discuss the woodcuts and the implications of imagery to the full extent it deserves. It would also be possible to theorise the theological motivation behind each physical change and therefore the level of faith of the reader, but while these conclusions would be interesting, it would constitute a discussion too large for the scope of this project. The project prioritises the analysis of the use of the book, identifying patterns and material motivations behind marginalia and how this links to textual content and contemporary culture, as this will help identify how the book was used publicly and privately. Therefore, these things will be acknowledged but not analysed, and part of the argument for digitisation will be the opportunity for someone else to complete this research in the future. However, this thesis will lay the foundation work for future study, and in Appendix 2 I have provided the map of excisions and marginalia that was the basis of the Codicological Analysis, as well as a further map of content in Appendix 1 and a table of woodcuts and historiated initials in Appendix 3. The development of these resources will hopefully enable the study of these themes to further extent and aid more comparative research.

For the purposes of establishing the social class of the readership, local history research was required into one of the names – 'Manory' – that appears multiple times in the marginalia and was an area of research to which I was unaccustomed. Conveniently, the marginalia also gave multiple

locations associated with the name, in the county of Surrey. As Katherine Acheson says in the recently published *Early Modern English Marginalia*, 'ownership inscriptions in books often also record gifts and therefore mark positions within familial and community networks', and while she is referring to explicit marks of 'to and from' gifting, the sequence of 'John Manorys' in W/S-10-3 serves as a similar timeline of this familial network where the book is gifted between generations.²¹ This 'community network' arguably mirrors the Surrey-based community the Manorys laid claim to. A range of documents (Appendix 4) referring to the Manory family's property dealings across the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are held in the Surrey historical county archives. They give insight into the level of society that the family belonged to across the sixteenth century when certain names correlate between the marginalia and the archives. From this we can also establish the levels of literacy that our readers displayed, linked to their social standing. Established within the yeomanry, but reaching for the gentry, the transactions listed show that the Manorys grew in importance in their community circles and the community network of book ownership together with their ability to read and write may have helped to elevate them. The Manorys demonstrate that social level was not fixed nor permanent, and the ownership of the book was part of a notion of social standing demonstrated by literacy and materialistic book ownership. This helped them to evaluate their own social influence, and is shown by more readers than the Manorys and is discussed in depth in Chapter Four. This often means that W/S-10-3 is not used for the devotional purpose with which it was designed. It is also a material object – an artefact – used for symbolic purposes, as there 'is indeed some evidence to suggest that literate people were more restless, less satisfied with their place in society'.²² Books in their entirety could be 'a personal talisman, in others a spiritual guide, while in still other transmissions it is present as an economic counter', passed from person to person by gift, sale or inheritance with no control over what it will be used for, and W/S-10-3

²¹ Katherine Acheson. 'The Occupation of the Margins; Writing, Space and Early Modern Women', in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed by Katherine Acheson (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2019) pp.70-91. P.74.

²² Keith Thomas. 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England' in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed by Gerd Baumann (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1986) pp.97-131. P.119.

contains evidence to support this.²³ As important as the book was as a spiritual guide, it was equally important to others as an artefact, with space and value for marks, names and commentary that demonstrated social standing and perceived self-evaluation. Jason Scott-Warren, concludes his essay 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book' with the statement that this phenomenon is driven by the need for readers to prove 'they have made, or are making, something of themselves, not least through their relationship with the leaves they inscribe. The sociable space of the book is a place for marking yourself out'; this theme of demonstrating one's social importance by recording their own name will occur regularly when discussing the marking of names by the readers in W/S-10-3.²⁴

Historical marginalia in books of all genres has come to the foreground of critical thinking on the history of the book recently, joining an already growing discussion about readers having taken control of interpretation long before twentieth-century critical thinking would identify the process. The work of Margaret Ford identifies that the pre-conceived ideas that 'people owned books which they needed: books were professional tools', are not always valid 'for lay owners, such as the gentry and merchants, [where] need is more difficult to define, and other factors, such as social networks, influenced their ownership of books'.²⁵ Her essay 'Private Ownership of Printed Books' explores how 'personal association' and social influence affects book ownership for those who sit outside of the universities and ecclesiastical institutions.²⁶ The readers of W/S-10-3 are part of the population that Ford discusses, and her argument has informed this thesis.

But while Ford discusses various books, the work of Mary C. Erler has similar views focused on a genre that gives its title to her essay 'Devotional Literature'. While the primary purpose of

²³ Erler, 497.

²⁴ Jason Scott-Warren. 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73.3 (2010): 363-381. Web. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2010.72.3.363> [Accessed: 6.07.2016]. P.381.

²⁵ Margaret Ford. 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol 3 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 205-228. P.206.

²⁶ Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', p.211.

devotional literature is for religious practice, this gave them a mandatory and convenient presence in the population's libraries,

To a substantial extent, devotional reading was everyone's reading.

Because this is so, ownership of devotional text does not correlate so neatly as we might wish with extraordinary piety.²⁷

Devotional reading was the optimum opportunity to disseminate change, because religious books were required for the structure of daily life and the population were required to follow them. Books of Hours and primers contained prayers to be said at certain times of the day, and the rest of the day's activities were scheduled around these. This mandatory requirement serves to potentially cloak what else the books were being used for, and how and why particular editions were being chosen for study, as alternate reasons could have been previously dismissed by the need to own them for visible piety. Erler goes on to identify specific editions of religious books and discusses alternate uses for them aside from religious devotion and her work will be instrumental in the interpretation of similar themes in W/S-10-3.

Discussing marginalia, William H. Sherman's *Used Books* and the recently published anthology *Early Modern English Marginalia* edited by Katherine Acheson, discuss in detail different types of marginalia and their possible purposes. Sherman, like Erler, reaches past the immediate impression of direct cause and effect between a book's subject and the commentary left in its margins. His interpretations are focused more on the way readers mark their books and why they do so, querying as this thesis will, at what point does the reader gain independence from the intention of the book to mark freely as they feel? As much as marginalia was 'attending to words, listening to their (books') stories, thinking about their arguments, and heeding their lessons' as one might expect, it was also about 'making one's mark-making books their own'.²⁸ This approach is taken in

²⁷ Erler, 495.

²⁸ William H. Sherman. *Used Books* (Pennsylvania, USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). P.3

Early Modern English Marginalia, which discusses the marginalia that is in books, not just that which is relevant to those books, exploring the idea of the margins as a space for expression. It also explores evidence left behind in books that is not always relevant to the content, such as ‘incidents of books marked by objects left in them, whether deliberately or accidentally’ that can tell us about the lives of readers without exploring textual content.²⁹

As for the political and religious transition that was the Henrician Reformation, the work of Eamon Duffy comprehensively explains the doctrinal progression and divides of the transition from Catholic England to Protestant state. While *The Stripping of the Altars* gives a wide view on the state of population, politics and religion in England, the more recent publication in 2011 of *Marking the Hours* focuses on the content, marks and changes made to Books of Hours, of which primers are an extension, and which are also discussed in depth in both publications. Duffy chooses to highlight the uses of Books of Hours and primers during the Henrician Reformation because,

With the advent of Protestantism in England, it became inevitable that the Books of Hours... structured round a set of offices in honour of the Virgin and the Dirige for the Dead, and larded with prayers to the Saints and indulgenced devotions, such books were bound to become a reformed target, precisely because their use was so widespread.³⁰

It was common for there to be a primer or a Book of Hours in a household, and it would need to be brought to church, it's use by that household publicly displayed and reform could then be policed. But this did not immediately mean that those who were demonstrating reform in public were mirroring these practices in private. Duffy also highlights that,

²⁹ Katherine Acheson. Introduction; Marginalia, Reading and Writing. In: Acheson, Katherine ed. *Early Modern English Marginalia*. Oxon, UK: Routledge (2019). pp.1-12. p.3

³⁰ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 147.

Dislike of change, Catholic instincts, hope for a speedy restoration of the old ways, and Tudor thrift, combined to struggle against the instinctive obedience of well-schooled subjects, in a conflict not strong enough for resistance, but which ensured wide-spread inertia and concealment.³¹

The population quickly became proficient in separating their public and private devotional practices, not because there was any plan to rebel against the monarchy, but because there was an internal struggle against the intrusion on their practices.

There is clear current scholarly focus on exploring readership further than just what they read and how they respond to it, and it is into this exploration that I intend to locate my argument, with W/S-10-3 providing a stage for discussion across subjects such as the history of reading, the history of the book, censorship, and material culture. The book as an artefact – when it's value is in its materiality and its cultural heritage – serves as a conversation piece for readers through English history, providing a platform for religious discussion, correction, repurposing and a window into how to read the marks of readers in a primer to discover more about them than just their religion.

Different scholarly approaches could reach alternative interpretations of evidence within W/S-10-3. Ownership formulae – a marginal note of someone's name – have traditionally thought to have been 'entered in books simply because they offered a convenient space', but there is a growing scholarly argument that it held more complex personal motivation where 'such an inscription suggests how property, propriety (self-ownership), and literacy could prove mutually reinforcing'.³² For the purposes of evaluating reader responses to Reformation changes, the latter of these two arguments, put forward by Jason Scott-Warren, is the angle I will take. However, the very nature of studying the marks of long deceased persons at a time when deception was key to survival means

³¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 571.

³² Sherman 23; Scott-Warren, 371.

that we can only ever interpret, and not definitively decide on motivation.³³ I intend for the conclusions drawn in this thesis to be used as a foundation for future research into the book and within the wider discipline to explore those interpretations and arguments that are beyond the scope of this project.

The difficulties that arise when discussing the book include missing sections, changes made to the physicality of the book, and the book's ability to thwart known marginalia trends, and are discussed in Chapter Two, *How to read W/S-10-3*. The ability of the book, printer and reader to navigate Reformation censorship through additional print material and physical changes is discussed in Chapter Three *Avoiding censorship and how to read censored books*. Finally, the future uses of W/S-10-3 and its significance as an artefact that reflected a reader's social evaluation and networking is discussed in Chapter Four, *How to read social implications of marginalia*. Throughout the discussions in this thesis other significant issues surface repeatedly that frame the main points. These are the clash between state and individual beliefs during the Henrician Reformation, private vs public devotion, and the changing devotional practices of the literate book-owning population.

The overall aim of this thesis is to show that by embracing an interdisciplinary approach towards how we read the marks and marginalia of historical readers, we can learn more about them than just a level of piety. The clash between private and public devotion, and the resulting circumvention of policy means that more can be gleaned about a reader's cultural motivation and social standing from the way in which they mark the book. Methodologically, this thesis will be a close examination of both printed and marked responses to external political mandates and societal progression, and what interpretations of these marks can inform us about those readers and their place within this complex cultural structure. In addition I intend to argue that the wealth of W/S-10-

³³ Andrew Hadfield. 'Lying in Early Modern Culture', *Textual Practice* 28.3 (2014): 339-363. Web. Taylor and Francis Online. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0950236X.2012.719721> [Accessed: 02.11.2015]. P.348.

3's evidence for sixteenth-century print culture and readership practices justifies it being digitised and submitted to the STC for use by other researchers across multiple disciplines; as one of the fundamental problems that readers will find with this thesis is the impossibility of it being able to cover the full scope of the research potential provided by W/S-10-3 within the word limit of an MA project. However, the additional resources put forward by this thesis will aid future study with or without digitisation.

Chapter One: Codicological Analysis of W/S-10-3

STC 15997

Thys Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten is newly translated after the Laten texte.

Pagination

+i – +v; Ai – Ziili; AA – Iliiii; A – Giii^v

Imprint

Imprint: London: Robert Redman, 1537. 4^o

Collation

Collation: Foliated pagination,

Illustrations: (Appendix 3)

References:

(copy) CCAL: W/S-10-3

ESTC citation: S125259

ESTC system number: 006200514

Size

Size: 14cm x 19cm

Content (a comprehensive contents list including page numbers can be found in Appendix 1)

Title Page; An almanack for XXIII years; Calendar; The days of the week moralised; The Commandments of God; The symbol or crede of the great Doctour Athenasius; The office of all estates; Preface; Johan I; The gospels of the disciples (no heading); The passion; The xii articles of the faith; The Mityns; The Laudes; The Collettes; Matyns of the Crosse; Houres; The Evensong of our Lady; The Complyn; Prayers; The XV prayers of Saint Brigide; The seven psalms; The XV psalms; The Letany; The Dirige; The Commendations of the Souls; The psalms of Christ's Passion; The psalter of Saint Jierome; Prayers (2); An exposition after the manor of a contemplation.

Beginning the thesis with a Codicological Analysis is necessary to help navigate the high amount of marginalia and reader interactions in the book. The purpose of this is to map each of the

alterations and reader's marks in the book, with emphasis on those that will be used as evidence in the thesis to support certain arguments. This chapter is formatted as a full summary of the contents, where the amount of discussion on each section within the primer varies depending on the quantity of reader interaction with the book in that section. As the aim of this thesis is to comment on marginalia and alterations, not scripture or reader religious affiliation, some sections of the primer will only receive a mention for the sake of mapping, while others may be singled out for more detailed description. The priority is to identify those parts that will be discussed in later chapters, supporting arguments for reactions to censorship, outward conformity, and reader social hierarchies. To aid this, images will be provided of some of the reader interactions at the end of the chapter (and the end of other chapters), with a focus on those parts that will be used later or are the most interesting or intricate to try and understand.

The cover of the book is difficult to evaluate because a rebinding has occurred, where the spine material has been replaced, leaving a discoloured join between the two; the cover boards of the book are clearly older than the spine. Due to shrinking and damage to the leather covering of the boards, the material inside has been exposed (fig 1). What is revealed is a couched laminated board, which is made 'by pressing together sheets of paper straight from the paper-maker's vat' which have then had tanned leather stretched over them.³⁴ The leather may have had a pattern with gold finish on it before, but this has worn through with only small aspects of it left. This sort of board production was a cheap and fast alternative for small format books, and those that have survived are often found to be 'heavily annotated in a contemporary hand and simply bound with a cheap structure' for a reader who was unable to afford expensive bindings or was more concerned with content than with aesthetics as the primary use of the book would be in private.³⁵ At the same time as the rebinding the text block has been trimmed, and this also means that some marginalia written prior to the rebinding has also been trimmed, or in some cases washed off when the pages were

³⁴ M. M. Foot. 'Bookbinding 1400-1557', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol 3 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp.109-127. P. 112.

³⁵ Foot, 112.

conditioned ready for the alteration. The new spine gives only the generic title *The Prymer*, without referring to an edition or the full title given on the first printed page. This title is indicative of a generalised cataloguing during the rebinding. The additional circa date of the 1540's on the new binding has been damaged also and only '154' remains (fig 2). The title on the binding gives only an era, when primers were printed in multiple editions and in abundance and this title does little to nothing to differentiate between them.

There is a Canterbury Christ Church bookplate attached to the inside of the front board. Around this variations of a shelf reference have been written: 10630, c 2 14; z.8.7 (struck through); w2/x-2-7 (struck through), L-3-4 (struck through); 10630, and W/S-10-3 which is the currently used reference by the Canterbury Cathedral Archives Library (CCAL). These are all in graphite pencil, apart from z.8.7 which is written in blue ink but struck through with graphite pencil. On the inside of the back board there is some silverfish damage to the paper that lines it. Further cataloguing research into the book by the CCAL staff is evident on one of the blank pages prior to the beginning of the primer's content. A conversation has taken place between custodians of the library around the needs of the book, and the edition they believe it to be (fig 3). For cataloguing purposes they have had to research the edition to identify the book's printer and origin. The comments are in three sections, by three different hands. The first is referencing needed repairs to an area of the book: 'Wants part of the title/ and a piece of a Leaf at c4'. The second begins the investigation of the printer, but wrongly identifies it as that of Thomas Petyt,

For the date vid. Almanac, on the back of the/ title, companied with the prayer
for the king/ at Sig J, whence it appears to be printed/ between 1537 & 1547;
and is the edition/ printed by Thomas Petyt at the sign of/ The Maidenhead
1543.

This custodian has theorised the printing date as 1543, and we could conclude that they are the one who had the book rebound with the dated spine, and a '3' is the missing last number. The third custodian's marginalia addresses the second's, correcting the edition and printing date as.

'I believe this primer to have been/ printed in 1537, by Robert Redman./

See Herbert's ames page 396. /The Edition by Thomas Petyt,/ which I
profess also, is/ a different book'.

The primer has then been correctly catalogued in the CCAL as that of Robert Redman in 1537, likely due to the research of this custodian. The evidence they cite, 'Herbert's ames', refers to William Herbert and Joseph Ames who first published *Typographical Antiquities, or, The History of Printing in England, Scotland, and Ireland* in 1810, which has a chapter devoted to Robert Redman in volume three.³⁶ While these additions are not necessarily marginalia nor from the Reformation, the actions of the Reformation and the readers have made this investigation necessary. The primer has drawn the attention of cataloguers with the need to amend records due to the importance of its contents, and the influx of primers in its period have complicated the process.

The textual content of the book begins on the fourth page, though there will not be page markings for a few more pages. It begins with a contents page, headed by the full title of the primer: *Thys Prymer in Englyshe and Laten is newly translated after the Laten texte*. A prose list of the contents follows, however half of the page has been removed, and therefore the list is incomplete. The asymmetrical tear suggests that it was done by accident, but simultaneously a counterfeit tear that looks accidental but was intentional could help to hide contents of a non-conformist book.

A conservation effort has been made to replace the lost paper, most likely when the book was rebound as the colour of the original paper and the new paper are different, but the colour of

³⁶ William Herbert and Joseph Ames. *Typographical Antiquities or The History of Printing in England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, UK: Miller, 1810).

the new addition of paper is the same as the blank pages prior to the title page. Where the new paper has been added, an attempt has been made to complete lines of lost text with the words 'by the' / 'The' / 'Gospels' (fig 4). While research could have been done into the contents of the book and these missing words, the contents of the primer, apart from a few unique additions by Redman, was like primers of other printers' and could be easily estimated. Finally, there is also a single piece of marginalia on this page, as in the top right-hand corner, a reader has inscribed their name: Hugh Hornby. This is the only time Hugh Hornby appears in the marginalia in the book, and as his name appears on the first page of the textual content, it is likely a mark of ownership of the book rather than a marginal note linked to text.

The almanac follows the contents and, being on the verso of the page, has been subject to the same tear and repair (fig 5). It too has been partially filled in again with the same hand, finishing the almanac at the year 1541. The nature of this conservation effort and replacement of the missing text treats the book as an archival object, with its value in its completeness as an artefact, rather than for its content. As an evolution of material value, this conservation work has been done in such a way that the work would be obviously noticeable, a statement of an attempt at repairing the material value, which may have been more valuable than the condition of the book.

A calendar for the year follows the almanac. It is formatted for two months per page, each in a side-by-side column with the other. This two-column structure aids the identification of the size of editions when comparing digitisations and microfilms (when descriptions are not adequately completed), as folio copies give a month per page, while quartos and octavos give two. The names of each month are in red text and this colour formation aids a reader in finding the relevant information on the page and is used throughout the book to the same effect. There are some indiscernible pen trials to the first page of the calendar and there is some silverfish damage to the last page of the calendar.

On a single recto page following is *The Days of the Week Moralised*, and is the beginning of the pagination, using a maltese cross and Roman numerals which is used across five recto pages

before the start of the foliated signatures. All seven days, split into two columns, are titled in red with a verse on the moral responsibilities of each. This small addition of rhyme was new to Robert Redman's 1537 primer (compared to the 1535 edition), which may be why it contains one of only two examples of manicha in the book, and the only one of the two to be shaped like a hand. Sitting in an indenture in the text describing Monday, the hand is small but intricately drawn, yet points to empty space (fig 6).

Following this is *The Commandments of God given by Moses*, formatted into two tables using red and black text to guide a reader across the page. Following this is *The symbol of crede of the great doctor Athanasius daily read in the church*. It is accompanied by a small woodcut of the trinity shield. It in turn is followed by *The office of all estates* and begins with a historiated initial. It is only two pages, with each page split into two columns which contain the verses of the estates.

Preface

The preface section is fully titled as *A preface advertising the reader of certain thyngs conveyed in this book followyng*. This is the start of the foliated signatures that will continue through the rest of the book. The prose itself is an introduction to the contents of the primer by the printer, Robert Redman. Conversational in tone, the purpose of this preface is to frame engagement with the contents for the reader around the decisions to include content that was controversial on the cusp of Reformation censorship. He often refers directly to said sections, such as the *Litany* and the *Dirige*, and repeatedly refers to the worshipping of the Saints. Despite this, the preface is only intended to navigate readers' conservative demands and censorship and is not designed as outspoken resistance. Instead it aims to introduce arguments for balance between conservatism and reform. His exact arguments for this will be explored in detail in Chapter Three. The preface's location within the book is chosen well, the sections that come before it are standard content of a practical nature rather than doctrinal, and it is not until after the preface that there is content with the potential to be scrutinised.

Following the preface is *The beginning of the holy after saint Johan I*, accompanied by a small woodcut of man reading to an angel. This is the first section to have verse in both English and Latin, where the Latin is in verses down the outside margin of the page. This pattern now runs through the entire book, apart from a few exceptions which will be identified. This section appears to be joined with the *Gospels of the Disciples*, and the transition between the two is only marked by woodcuts, which is different to the beginning of following sections in the book which are either marked by historiated initials, page headings or printer interjections. ‘Luke I’ starts with a woodcut of a man with a sheep; ‘Matthew II’ has a woodcut of a man reading to a divine man; ‘Mark XVI’ has a woodcut of a scribe with a lion. Woodcuts are often used in this way in a primer to indicate to which religious figure the verse or prayer relates to; ‘these marginal or initial images, which became an even more consistent feature of printed *Horae*... would have enabled the devotee to find the particular prayer he wanted to use, and to be quite certain whose aid he was invoking’.³⁷ Thus, while it is not a common format in this primer to have a woodcut at the beginning of each verse, for this section of the *Gospels of the Disciples*, it serves as part of that wider directional format helping the reader to navigate the book, and these are all described in Appendix 3.

The next section is titled *The Passion of our lord Jesu Christ* written by saint John Evangelist. This section continues the pattern started by *Saint Johan* to have sub-headed verses inside the prose text. The text is then split into seven smaller paragraphs called petitions and are numbered, e.g. ‘The first petition’. *The XII articles of the faith* which comes next then transitions into a second set of commandments, *The X Commandments Deutirio B*. These commandments do not have as long explanations as the previous commandments, and each is sub headed in red text. The last recto page of this section has had the top third of the page removed. Like the contents page, this is an asymmetrical tear.

Matyns & Laudes

³⁷ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 226.

The next two sections that follow are the *Matyns* and then the *Laudes*. These are both sections in the primer in which Redman feels it necessary to give small, short, prose introductions ‘in support of the royal supremacy’ as they could invite censorship.³⁸ The *Matyns* interjection comes first, on the verso of the page with the top third removed (fig 7). Titled, ‘A declaration of the Matyns’, it explains that the *Matyns* are to be said in the morning and are a way of commending the birth of Jesus and our Lady Mary. As these interjections follow a pattern and develop through the book Redman’s voice becomes more reformist. The tear made to this page has an asymmetrical shape to it like that of the contents page, and could have been an accidental tear, as many of the excisions identified in this Codicological Analysis have been done carefully, requiring the use of a sharp instrument with clean lines, but this does not appear to be the case here or on the contents page.

Within the *Matyns*, on the recto page opposite the interjection, is a woodcut of the Madonna and child reading in the presence of an angel. Further in, with ‘The song of Austin and Ambrose’ there is a Canterbury Chapter Library stamp at the bottom of this page. Library stamps are almost always put in a book at random, and W/S-10-3 has simply been opened and stamped at any page, though the addition of a stamp on a page with a woodcut would make it less enticing for that woodcut to be torn out and kept by a reader.

The following section of *Laudes* begins with the shortest of all Redman interjections, simply stating the meaning of the word *Laudes* as that of prayers to Christ and the Virgin Mother, accompanied by a woodcut.

The sentences in the *Laudes* are significantly longer in this section than in the rest of the book and can encompass entire paragraphs and verses, with each new sentence starting on a new line with a red letter. The visual impact of which is that it is harder to navigate these pages than that of other sections, with less formatting to guide a reader.

³⁸ Rex, 102.

A Latin verse of 'The CI psalm' is indicated by a handwritten line that moves down the left side, underlines the verse, and then flourishes on the outside margin ending with the word 'nota' (fig 8).³⁹ This is the second, and last, example of the use of manícula in the book, where readers have marked out pieces of text to note to themselves.

The following verse of 'The Song of Zachary' has been the subject of multiple pieces of marginalia that responds to the content on the page. Spread across all the margins, it is the most extensively annotated page in the text (fig 9). Along the bottom margin the marginalia reads 'Where the tree fallath there he lyeth/ Every tree is grown by his fruit, I me F.B', which identifies one of the readers of the book as F.B.⁴⁰ The outside margin reads 'Many of true religion and to be better advised in all their doings'.⁴¹ The top margin also has marginalia, but where the book has been washed and trimmed, it fades and then disappears off the edge of the page. The reader here has felt the need to engage with the text in 'The Song of Zachary' as writing across the outer margin would be more difficult compared to the upper and lower margins, requiring the book to be turned, and the writing arm to lean across the pages in the process. They have not only left marginalia behind but also signed their name to it, and this is an example of where readers in W/S-10-3 are using it as both a vehicle of faith, and as an artefact. While the comments are fuelled by religion, the use of ownership formulae is fuelled by social networking.

Collettes

In the following section entitled *Collettes*, each verse is accompanied by a small woodcut, where each one depicts an image from the prayer with which it is partnered. While woodcuts have appeared in the book before, and will do so again, this section by far contains the most in the book. While the woodcuts are intended as a reading aid, the larger ones that appear to the scale of a full page in folio editions are omitted, acknowledging the fact that these smaller quartos do not need to

³⁹ W/S-10-3, Fiii^r.

⁴⁰ W/S-10-3, Fiii^v.

⁴¹ W/S-10-3, Fiii^v

be viewed or displayed to large groups. Each of these woodcuts depicts a Saint as part of prayers to them, which form the section. The conservative roots of this section, with prayers to Saints, is likely why it contains the most imagery. It is also likely why every single page in this section has received an excision, through both the English and the Latin, to reject it under the legal restrictions of Reformation literature. These excisions are however so fine and careful that the text is still legible, demonstrating sympathy towards this rejected conservative doctrine.

There are other excisions and some marginalia in this section also. Above the verse of the Holy Trinity, 'god be mercifull unto me' has been inscribed, next to more marginalia that has been washed and trimmed.⁴² There is also a small section torn from the bottom margin of this page (fig 10). Above the prayer of Saint Peter and Paul, there is a rectangular section removed from the top right corner of the page (fig 11). This excision is outside of the main text and therefore what has been removed is marginalia that, linked to the *Collettes* around which it is written, must have also linked to a conservative view that required removal after the 1538 ban on controversial marginal annotations. These excisions could of course have been aimed at the alternate side of the page, but on both it is torn from beneath the Latin, not the English, and the marginalia may therefore have been linked specifically to the Latin verse.

The Matyns of the Cross follows with a woodcut of Jesus on the cross with two disciples but remains unaltered by both excisions and marginalia.

Houres

The *Houres* section which then follows contains woodcuts at intervals of [approximately] every third psalm. It also begins with another interjection by Redman in a prose paragraph without Latin verse describing how the hourly structured prayers first came to be said. He uses this to comment on the use of this section in both the Catholic Church and the Church of England,

⁴²W/S-10-3, Fiiii^r.

validating its place in the Reformation; and the *Houres*' relevance to the emerging English church would be why there are no excisions in this section.

The last page of *Houres*, L^v, with *The ninth houre of the compassion of our Lady*, has marginalia along the top margin of 'Abba my ffather all things John Osborne' and is another identification of a reader of the book reacting to the scripture (fig 12).⁴³ John Osbourne's handwriting is similar to that of the reader who wrote 'god be merciffull unto me' earlier (fig 10), and so are likely to be the same person. Between this page of L^v and Lii^r are short stubs of torn paper as though pages have been removed (fig 13). The signatures however are uninterrupted, and the removed paper must therefore have not been part of the printed book; the alternative being that additional pages were added at one of the bindings for the purposes of marginalia, with the removal of such then not performed carefully later, leaving behind the stubs.

Evensong

This section also begins with an interjection by Redman in a prose paragraph explaining what is meant by the word *Evensong* and is used to directly associate the entire upcoming section with the Lady Mary. There is evidence of more pages having been removed between Liii^v and Liiiii^r, which also do not leave any discrepancies in the text or signatures and therefore cannot have contained text.

On Liiiii^v, on the outside margin of the verse 'The Song of our Lady' is marginalia signing the name of 'John Manorye of Worplesdon in the County of Surrey' (fig 14) which identifies the first of a series of John Manorys signing their names in the book as a family unit.⁴⁴ Interestingly, this is the only time when the surname is spelt as Manorye instead of Manory. In this instance John Manory has linked himself to Worplesdon in Surrey and this continued ownership formulae used by the Manory family repeatedly in W/S-10-3 of leaving their name in the margins as well as their location has greatly aided research into the family. A series of documents from the Surrey Country Archives

⁴³ W/S-10-3, L^v.

⁴⁴ W/S-10-3, Liiiii^v.

(Appendix 4), show the family dealing in careers and land exchanges that are indicative of the yeomanry, and the emerging middle class, suggesting the social level of readership that have been utilising this book.

On page M^r, above the verses of 'Evensong of the Holy Cross' is marginalia that reads 'Jonora Billa Vera ignoramus' and 'billa vera'.⁴⁵ These phrases are then repeated along the bottom margin with 'Billa vera ignoramus' and 'bilar' and the beginning of 'ignoramus' which has been trimmed (fig 17.1).⁴⁶ This is the first use of Latin for marginalia in the book, with the legal phrasing indicative of a reader in a legal profession with limited but relevant Latin knowledge,

As to the first point viz. Whether a grand jury may find part of the bill brought before them true, and part false. It seems to be generally agreed, that they must find *billa vera* or *ignoramus* for the whole.⁴⁷

The words 'billa vera' and 'ignoramus' refer to the verdict on an indictment given by a jury, and the combination of the words used decides on the verdict, where each term used on their own means true bill, or false. The combination is a split verdict, with some part truth and some part false.

While it is a different profession, the legal clerks who would record these verdicts and the yeomanry sit together in the emerging middle class and as such, a social status of the readers of the book begins to form, and will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

The following section of the *Complyn* begins with an interjection by Redman about what is meant by that word. On Miiii^r where 'The Song of Symon' begins, there is marginalia in the top margin where the letter 'b' is repeated multiple times as if the reader is practising handwriting.⁴⁸ Here, the second reader named John Manory signs his name in the top margin as 'John Manory in

⁴⁵ W/S-10-3, M^r.

⁴⁶ W/S-10-3, M^r.

⁴⁷ William Hawkins. *A Treatise of the Pleas of the Crown; Or, A System of the Principal Matters Relating to that Subject, Digested Under Proper Heads. Book 2* (Oxford, UK: His Majesty's law-printers, published for the editor, 1787). P.300.

⁴⁸ W/S-10-3, Miiii^r.

Surrey' (fig 16) continuing that trend where they are likely to be a middling level of social status linked to their location.⁴⁹

On N^r there is marginalia in the top margin appealing to a 'Master Crastall' and stating 'I have me commended unto you' (fig 17).⁵⁰ This is another common formulae in marginalia, potentially appealing for patronage from a master, or an appeal of obedience to a school master. Both potential meanings will be considered in Chapter Four. On Nii^r 'a prayer to the praise of our Lady', which has a woodcut of the Madonna and child, has three excisions: one through the English, and two through the Latin verses. Following the pattern of leaving text legible after an excision, the Latin excisions are so fine and careful that they are incredibly difficult to see (fig 18). This is mirrored on the verso page.

The *Prayers* follow the *Complyn* and contain several inconsistently formatted prayers with various sub-sections. Between Niii^v and Niiii^r there is again more evidence of page removal between pages of the book, indicating more lost marginalia. While on Niiii^r there are excisions made through the centre of the English text and the top and bottom of the Latin verse.

At the beginning of the following section of *The XV prayers of Saint Brigide*, there is an interjection by Redman comparing the goodness of prayers written by Saints, to the books in which they are printed. The following section of *The Seven Psalms* begins with one of Redman's most explicit interjections in support of the King. He claims that the repentant nature of the Psalms will support the King's guilt over having committed 'grevous adulterie' like the prophet David, declaring support for Henry VIII's divorce from Queen Katherine of Aragon.⁵¹ In the following section of the *XV Psalms*, on page Rii^r, marginalia is used between the lines with a flourish to indicate a gap in the text: 'the real split there is' (fig 19).⁵² While the wording indicates a supposed correction to the text, there

⁴⁹ W/S-10-3, Miiii^r.

⁵⁰ W/S-10-3, N^r.

⁵¹ Bodleian Library (Reproduction 016434606 reel 2030). Le Roux, Nicholas (printer). *Thys Prymer in Englysshe and Laten is Newly Translayted after the Laten Texte MDCXXXVIII* (Rouen, France: 1538). P.GVIII.

⁵² W/S-10-3, Rii^r.

is nothing in that passage to correct, nor is the term highlighted in the text unique to that page, as the words 'As it is in the beginning, as it is now, and ever shall be' ends every psalm in the section.

Litany

The next section is the *Litany*, where the word 'Johanny' is written in the bottom right hand corner of the first page (fig 20).⁵³ Redman interjects at the beginning of this section with a signification of the word *Litany* and discusses the history of the *Litany* relating to the Bishop of Rome, but refines the meaning of the *Litany* service to prayers for the people in an attempt to separate it from Rome. An ambitious endeavour, the *Litany* has been completely excised on all pages (fig 21), and yet all the text but a small section is still legible. It begins with a proclamation for mercy and then proceeds to list every Saint. Some of the excisions, performed on the recto side, do not neatly correspond with the text on the verso side. The Saint's list is in two columns with the names on the left, with 'pray for us' repeatedly to the right. On the recto, this places the Saints names close to the bound edge, but on the verso they are closer to the outer edge. The assumption has then been made that excisions made through the names on the recto, will be mirrored on the verso, when in fact it passes through the 'pray to us' list on the verso as the columns are inverted to accommodate the change in page. Considerable effort, though miscalculated, has still been made-enough to provide evidence of reform if challenged. Inside the Saint's list itself a triangular excision has been made, completely the archangels' names on the recto, and on the verso the name of Thomas Becket (figs 20 and 21), which would have been necessary after the 1538 law requiring him to be erased from all books. The connotations of these excisions, and the purposeful removal of Thomas Becket's name will be further discussed in Chapter Three. When the list continues on Sii^r, the name John Manory makes an appearance once again, this time as 'John Manory his boke of Farnham CT' (fig 22).⁵⁴ This is the third reference to John Manory, and the third to a location within

⁵³ W/S-10-3, Si^r.

⁵⁴ W/S-10-3, Sii^r.

(or of) Surrey, and helps forms the image of a family in a restricted geographical location, within which they command a middle-class level of social standing. The list finishes on Siii^v and the verses begin in a format that uses smaller sub-headed verses. Various letters on Siii^v have been scribbled out with ink.

The *Dirige* is the second largest section in the book, and follows the *Litany*, and begins with another interjection by Redman on the meaning of the *Dirige*, in which he tries to reconcile praying for the dead with Reformation teachings, citing ‘we that are under the newe lawe’ directly.⁵⁵ Tiii^v has indiscernible pen trials in the top margin, (fig 23) and on Uii^r in the top margin we find the marginalia of ‘John Manory his book of Parish’, which is the fourth and final time this name is found in the book (fig 24).⁵⁶ Finally, in this section page BB^r has possible Latin marginalia in the top right hand margin, but it has been trimmed.

The following three sections of the *Commendations of the Souls*, the *Psalms of Christ’s Passion*, and *Saint Jierome’s Psalter*, all begin with an interjection by Redman explaining their benefits to one’s faith. It is within *the Psalms of the Passions* that the formatting changes on FFii^v to larger prose paragraphs with red letter beginnings. For *Saint Jierome’s Psalter*, it is one long verse with no sub-sections. The following *Prayers (2)* start without defining the start of a new section, and the formatting changes again to paragraphs with subheadings on HHiii^r. On this page an excision has been made straight through the centre of the English prose and the last clear piece of marginalia in the book is written across the top margin as ‘God be mercifull on me’, repeating a phrase used in marginalia earlier in the book.⁵⁷ Though there is some additional marginalia along the outside margin, it is too faded from the washing of the text block to be understood (fig 25).

The final section of the book is an *Exposition unto the Manner of Contemplation*, which is formatted as a long prose section with no separate verses, beginning with a historiated initial. Page

⁵⁵ Le Roux, Lvi^r.

⁵⁶ W/S-10-3, Uii^r.

⁵⁷ W/S-10-3, HHiii^r.

Bii^r(2) in this section potentially has marginalia in the top right-hand corner of 'holy litanny' (fig 26), but it has been washed and trimmed.⁵⁸ On page E^v(2) of this same section are some indiscernible pen trials at the top of the page, and some letters scribbled out in the text itself. This targeted colouring of letters with ink is indicative of a child using the primer for something other than religious study, which is a point raised in Chapter Four (fig 27).

Conclusion

The Codicological Analysis of W/S-10-3 serves to provide a useful map of the Reformation alterations and the marginalia within the book. By completing this detailed analysis, trends have been established, such as the John Manory signatures, the levels of literacy and the targeting of certain subjects for excisions, which would have been significantly harder to link through a thematic chapter. When referring to these trends later in the thesis, the Codicological Analysis will provide an invaluable reference system as not all the evidence for one theme may be evaluated at once, but those established trends can support the argument by having laid their foundations in the Codicological Analysis. The Codicological Analysis has also helped to identify the sections in the book which have received the most attention and activity from readers, such as the *Litany*, *Collettes* and *Evensong*. These sections are probably targeted the most due to their conservative content, referring to prayers to Saints or the mass ceremony, that would require adaptation to keep the book legal, and help the reader avoid incrimination. At the same time the idea of a variety of readers using this book is supported by the wide distribution of marginalia throughout the book.

⁵⁸ W/S-10-3, Bii^r(2).

Images (Chapter One)



Figure 1- Back cover board. Change between board and spine evident, peeling leather and damaged in outer corners.

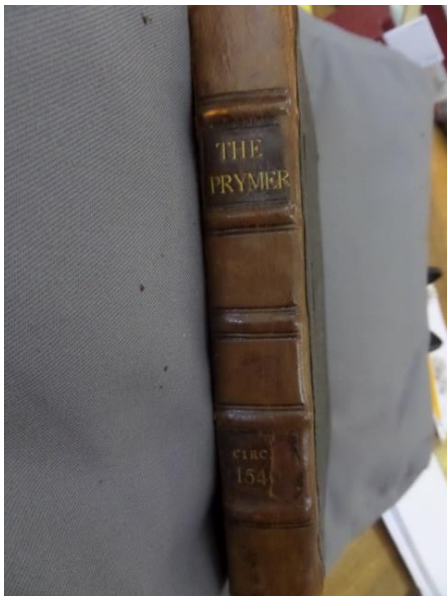


Figure 2- The re-binding of the book, with part of the circa date missing.

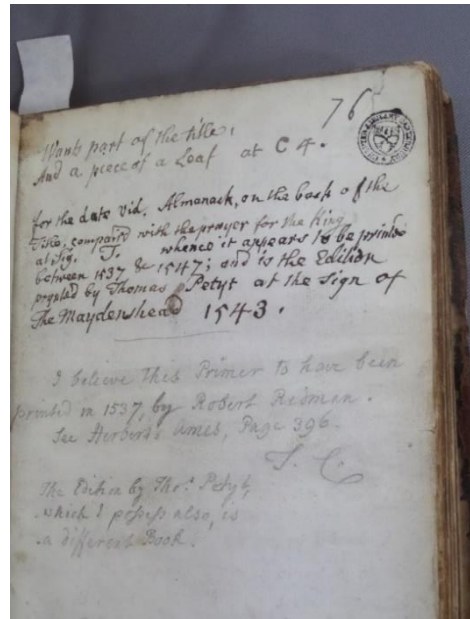


Figure 3- Three custodians of the Library have made notes pertaining to work needed on the book and to the printer and edition of the book for cataloguing.

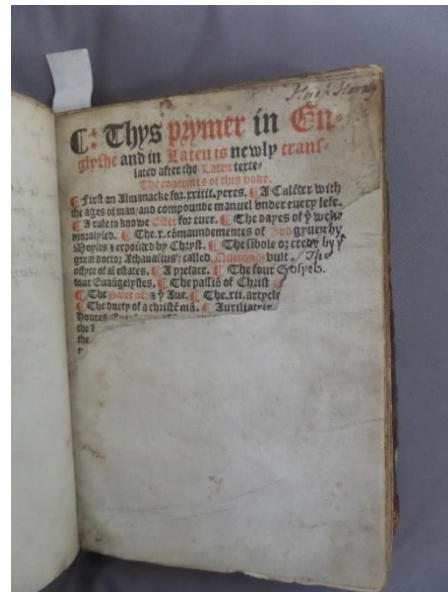


Figure 4- The contents of the book torn halfway down the page, with an attempt to repair and replace some of the missing text.

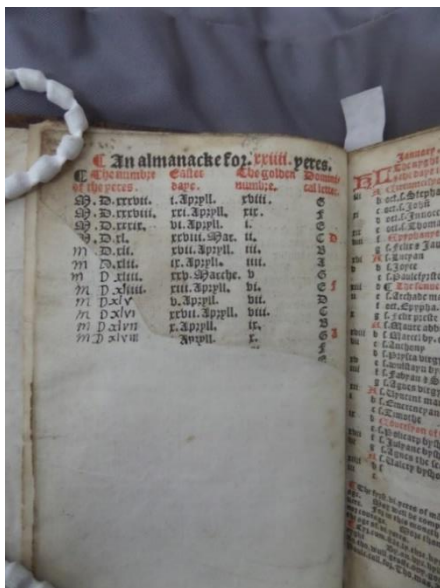


Figure 5- The almanac with the asymmetrical tear and subsequent repair and completion of some text.



Figure 7- The top third of the verso page removed, with the introduction by Redman on the Matyns section at the bottom of the page.

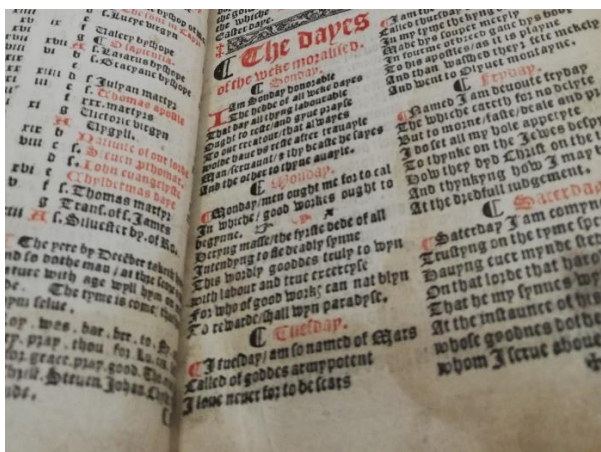


Figure 6- Small hand-shaped manicule pointing to empty space in the description of Monday.

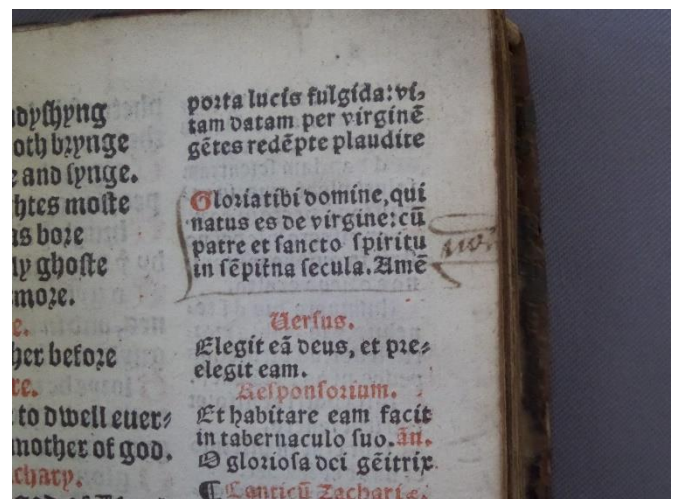


Figure 8- A manicule, and the first piece of marginalia: the Latin verse is outlined and signed with 'nota', though the word has been trimmed.



Figure 9- The most marginalia found on any one page in W/S-10-3, F.B has engaged with the text across all three margins and signed their name at the bottom.

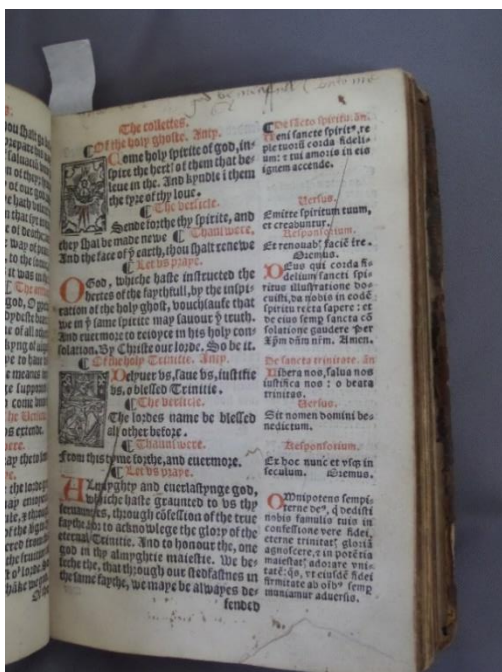


Figure 10- This page in the Collettes has marginalia along the top margin, which would have been preceded by more had the not text block not been cut for rebinding. The entirety of the page, English and Latin, has been excised but is legible, and a small piece has been torn from the bottom margin.

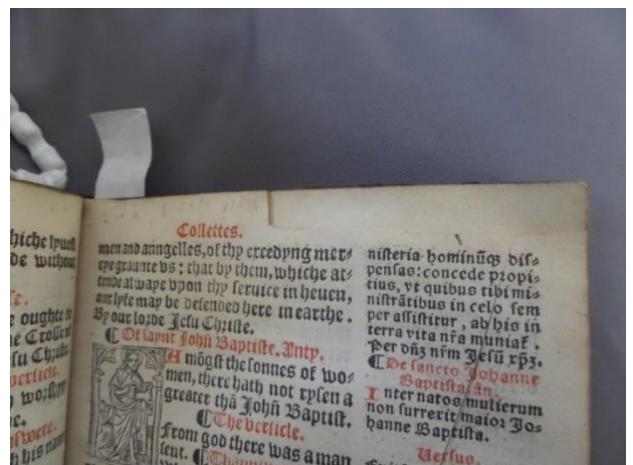


Figure 11- The careful removal of marginalia from the top margin, washed lettering remains to the left of it and a small tail of script hangs down below the cut.

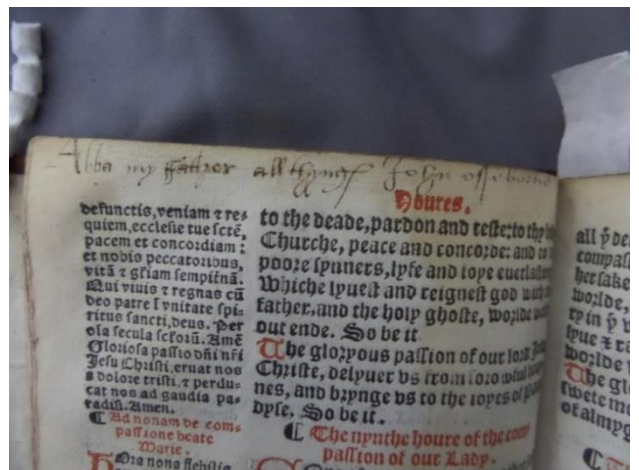


Figure 12- John Osborne signs his name in the top margin.



Figure 13- Stubs of paper left behind by removed pages.

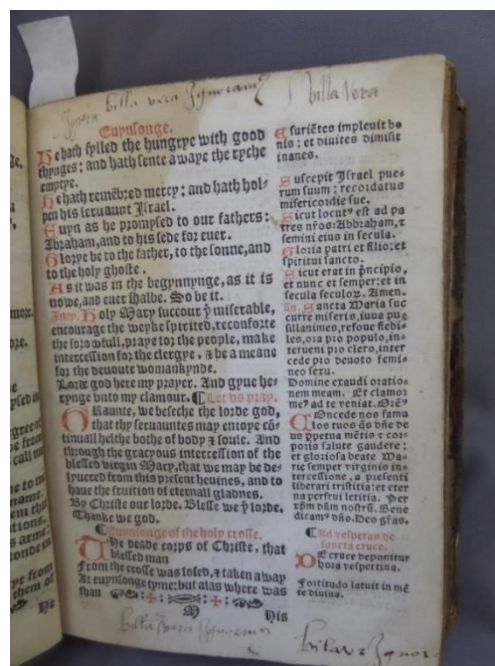


Figure 15- The first examples of Latin marginalia in W/S-10-3.

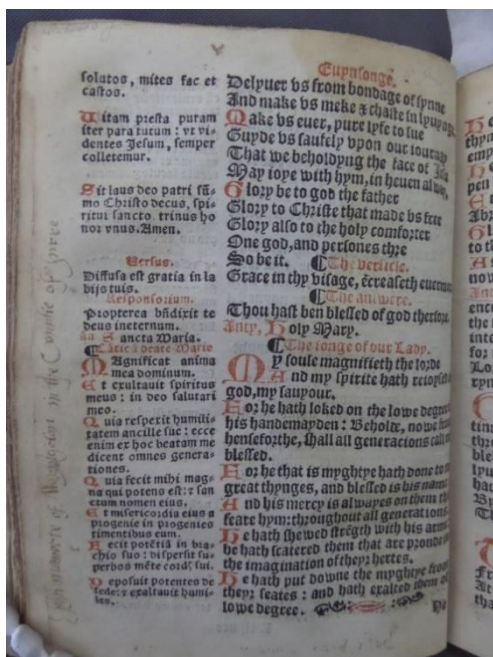


Figure 14- The first of the John Manory signatures, spelt just this once as 'Memorye'.

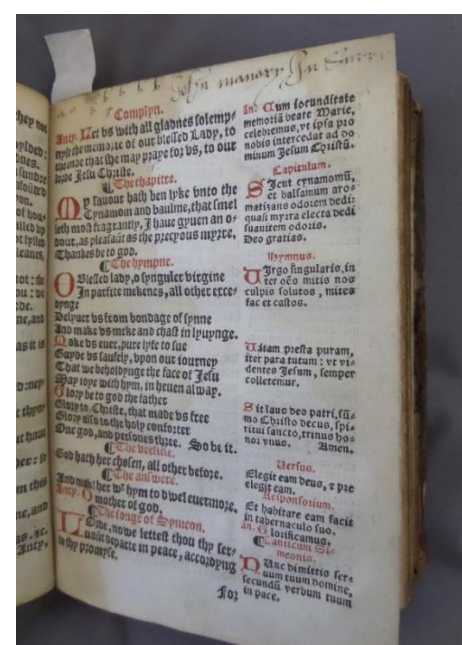


Figure 16- The second John Manory signature, accompanied by the repeated letter 'b'.

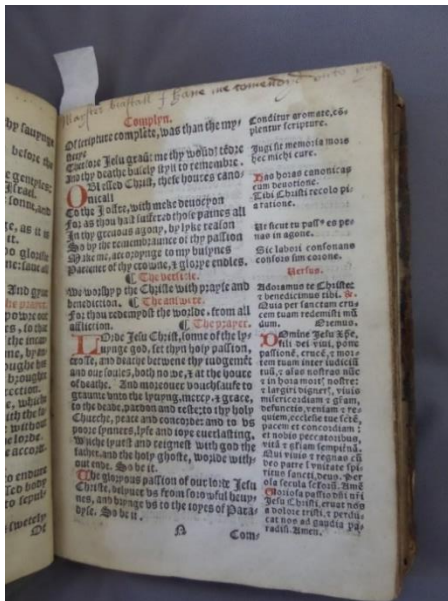


Figure 17- An appeal to Master Crastall in the top margin.

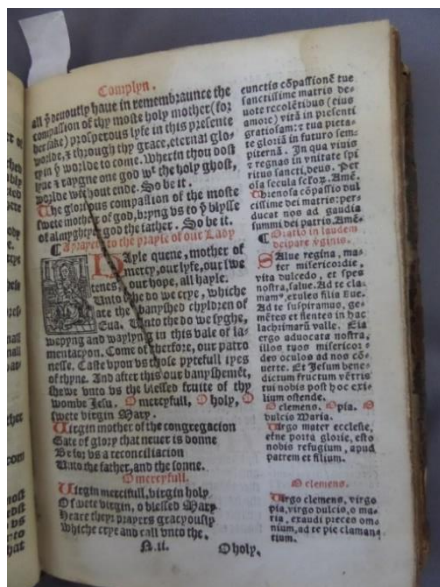


Figure 18- Excisions in the Latin text so careful and fine that they are difficult to identify, leaving the text legible.

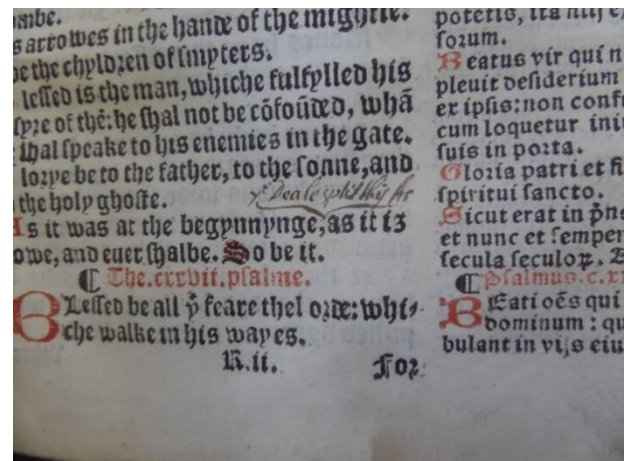


Figure 19- A perceived correction in the main body of text.

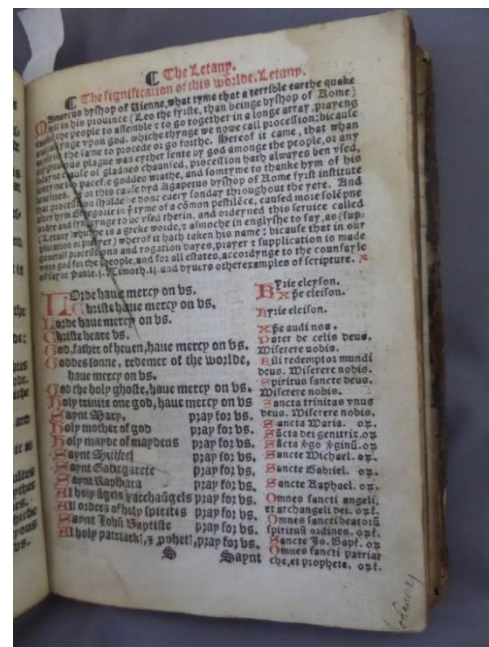


Figure 20- The only time the interjection made by Redman has received an excision.

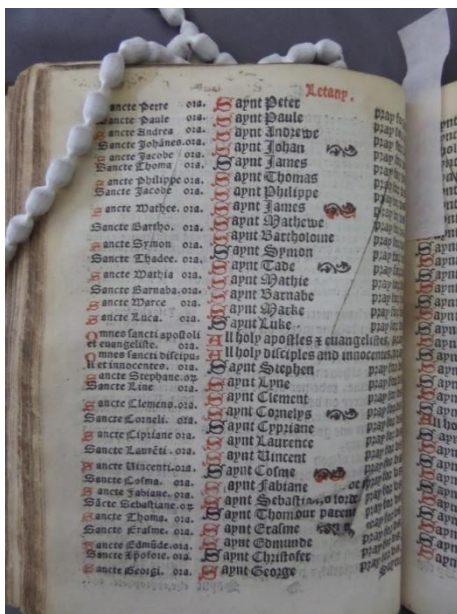


Figure 21- The entirety of the Saints list has received excisions, but these do not pass through the list with accuracy on the verso, as they were made on the recto.



Figure 23- Indiscernible pen trials across the top margin of the Dirige.

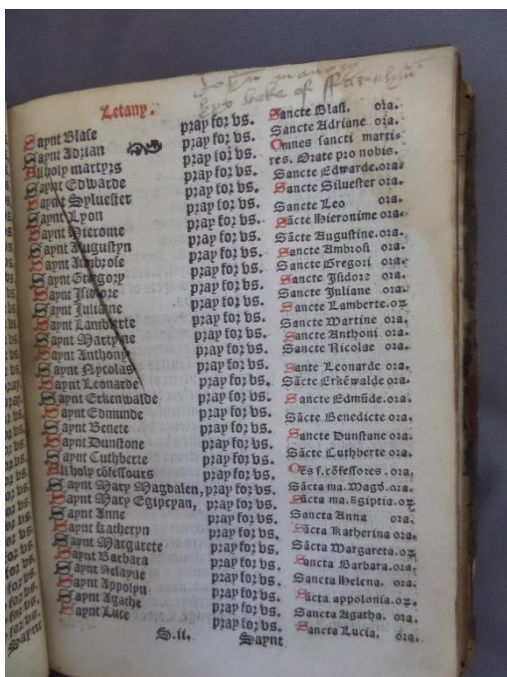


Figure 22- 'John Manory his book of Farnham' written across the top margin.

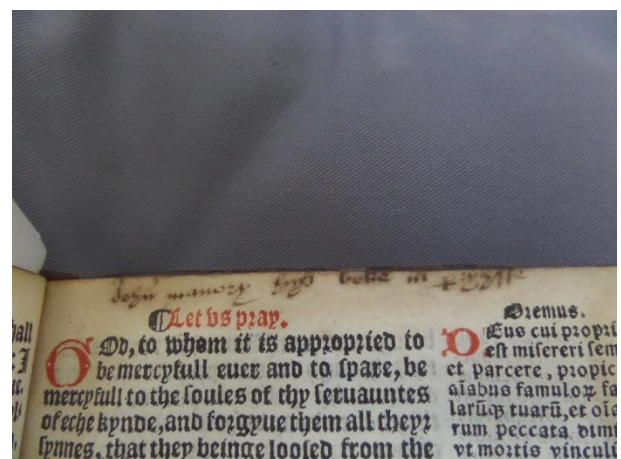


Figure 24- 'John Manory his book of parish' written across the top margin.

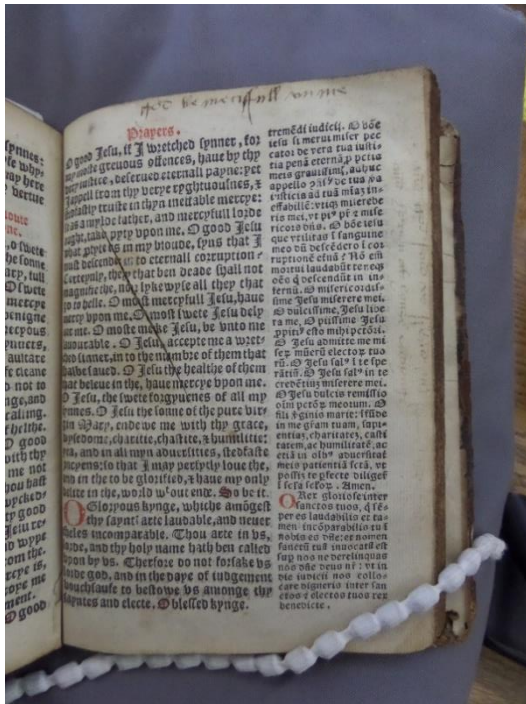


Figure 25- Marginalia along the top margin is legible, but marginalia along the outer margin has faded due to the washing of the text block.

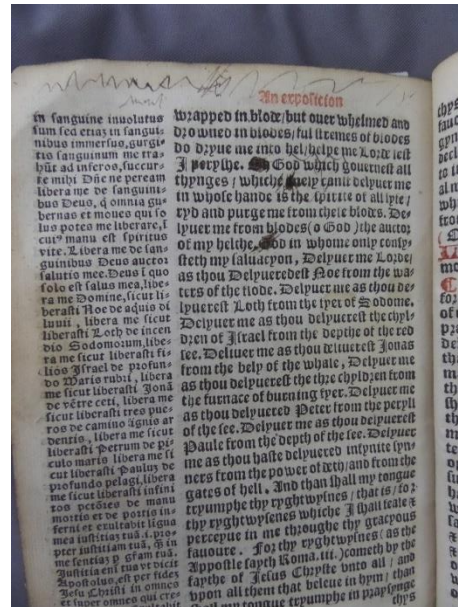


Figure 27- Indiscernible pen trials and some letters scribbled out also, indicative of a child.

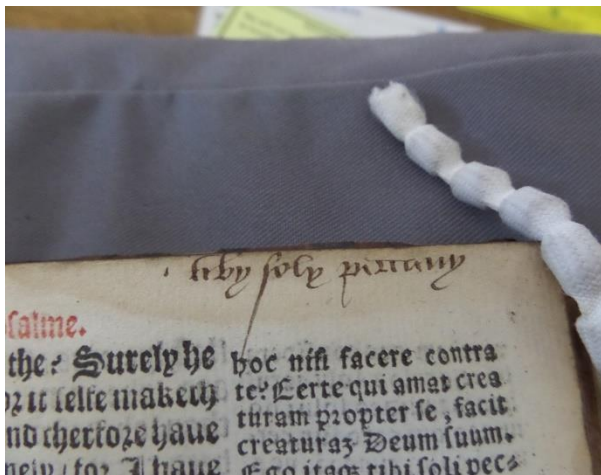


Figure 26- Possible Latin marginalia in the top right-hand corner of the page.

Chapter Two: How to read W/S-10-3 and issues with interpreting the book

While W/S-10-3 is a valuable resource for both the study of sixteenth-century devotional reading and material usage of books, its life has also created a complex structure that needs methodology on how to read it. While the Codicological Analysis is a useful map of excisions, alterations and marginalia, this chapter compartmentalises the edition, readers and interpretation difficulties of W/S-10-3. Others have attempted to discern the edition of the book before, in one instance resulting in a rebinding and trimming of the book. The evidence for discerning the edition will be presented here as well as how this relates to the importance of this scholarly research. This chapter will also discuss added interpretation problems surrounding certain pieces of missing content and absent evidence in the book that could be worked with in other similar books, such as additional pages and common manacula. This chapter is about methodology and will lay out the decisions on how to read the primer, and what the complications and missing pieces are. It will also aim to pragmatically identify the readers through their marginalia intentions rather than their spirituality, and by their nature as either individuals or families. For part of this, local history research into the Manory family was necessary, and documents pertaining to this family will be referenced here for the first time. A comprehensive list of these documents can be found in Appendix 4.

Before beginning, it is important to remember that discerning intention through marginalia is methodologically problematic, because it is largely dictated by the individual psyche of each reader. Not only is this impossible to know definitively, but in the light of Reformation censorship and the reality that public conformity and private belief do not always correlate, the art of deception under threat of incrimination can mask true intention from researchers with even a complete understanding of historical context. In his essay 'Lying in Early Modern Culture', Andrew Hadfield

focuses on this problem when interpreting history and literature: 'Literary scholars face similar issues: when can the reader know whether a text really does refer to an external reality, whether it represents that accurately, whether it is deliberately misleading the reader and what is at stake in doing so'.⁵⁹ He goes on to focus on lying for the sake of presenting the religious affiliation required at the time, by 'disguising the true nature of their beliefs, often through calculated deception, sometimes outright lies'.⁶⁰ This results in modern critics faced with the reality that 'in an age of widespread religious division and persecution many people were less honest about what they believed than the records immediately reveal'.⁶¹ While this does support the theory that the physical evidence in W/S-10-3 was plausibly the result of needing to lie and deceive in public to protect truth in privacy, the very nature of the presence of lies and omissions means that simultaneously we can never be certain of the intentions behind it. Methodologically, in the rest of this thesis, the focus will be on how the actions appear in direct response to censorship.

Discerning the edition of W/S-10-3

The physical makeup of W/S-10-3 provides a restricted insight into its origins with perplexing complexity due to its alterations over the years. Attempts have been made since its acquisition into the CCAL by the staff to evaluate its place in the catalogue, catalysing some of these alterations. Evident by the additional comments made on the first page, on paper that is likely to have been added later in the rebinding, the custodians of the Cathedral library appear to disagree with each other on the origin of the book, arguing about it possibly across decades or even centuries, and enforcing physical changes accordingly. One custodian has rebound the book and replaced the spine to represent Thomas Petyt, and another custodian who disagrees may have pulled that piece off again (fig 28 and 29). Although these changes are not native to the Reformation, they do complicate

⁵⁹ Hadfield, 341.

⁶⁰ Hadfield, 348.

⁶¹ Hadfield, 348.

the links between the book's origin, later post-Reformation life, and place in the CCAL. Robert Harding, while writing about luxury book bindings, argues that 'in some cases the binding itself seems to supersede the text as the prime vehicle for message'.⁶² Particularly when researching a book's origins and the social class associated with its first purchase, the binding itself could offer more evidence than a textual analysis, but in W/S-10-3 this vehicle for interpretation has not survived. Had the original binding not been removed, it might have been possible to evaluate the frequency the book was used based on wear, and the method used to bind it together with the boards. This would have given a good sense of the social class the book was bound for; fortunately the marginalia will support this discussion instead. Had the rebinding not occurred as well, then some of the lost marginalia would not have been lost when the text block was trimmed.

Alternatively, no conservator is in the habit of unnecessary intrusion into the structure of an artefact, and if the book was rebound and trimmed, it is as equally possible that this was necessitated by its poor condition (as seen by the paste boards) and the loss is the lesser of two evils, if the book was in danger of falling apart. There was at least a conscious decision to preserve the boards, and while 'we have very little documentary evidence relating to bookbinding in sixteenth-century England... it is clear, however, that dramatic changes did come about'.⁶³ Around the 1520s England saw the 'introduction of gold tooling – a technical as well as stylistic innovation as it required the tools to be heated... to stick the gold leaf to the leather'.⁶⁴ The boards then at least, with their remnants of gold detail, are stylistic of the period in which it was printed, and are likely to be original.

If this is the case, then the custodians who discuss the editions on the first blank page in the book have given the book material value as an artefact and sought to not only preserve it, but

⁶² Robert J. D. 'Authorial and editorial influence on luxury bookbinding styles in sixteenth century England', in *Tudor Books and Readers*, ed. by John N. King (New York, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012) pp.116-137. P.125.

⁶³ Harding, 119.

⁶⁴ Harding, 120.

catalogue it for its importance in representing the past. They, like this thesis, see the value in the rarity of its survival and what it contains and shows that the uniqueness of this book makes it worthy of further study. Due to the unknown identities of the custodians who are writing to each other using the first page, I will be referring to them by their respective decisions on who printed the book. The primer is not one of those printed by Thomas Petyt- those are different books entirely. The Petyt primer of 1543 would be subject to the *Act for the Advancement of True Religion* and would not have been authorised to print with the conservative content that W/S-10-3 contains, and especially not with reference to Thomas Becket. The 'Redman custodian' has concluded that this is the primer printed by Robert Redman in 1537 entitled *Thys Prymer in Englyshe and Laten is newly translated after the Laten texte*, citing 'Herbert's Ames' as their reference. Herbert's Ames refers to *Typographical Antiquities, or, the history of printing in England, Scotland, and Ireland*. It does indeed contain a chapter on Robert Redman, including an entry for,

1049. Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten, &c. 1537. Octavo.

'Thys Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten, is newly translated after the Laten text.'

Printed in red and black ink: as is, 'An expositoryon after the manner of a contemplacion upon the LI psalme, called misere mei Deus, which Hierom of Farraye made at the latter ende of his days;' which is added to it. The style of this book (says Herbert) is fine, and much resembles our modern English.⁶⁵

This entry has all the evidence the 'Redman custodian' would need to come to his conclusion. It explicitly states the same title, with a definitive feature that W/S-10-3 contains (*An exposition after the manor of contemplation*). Redman's entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography says that '203 editions were printed by or for him between 1523 and 1540' and he was 'sympathetic to

⁶⁵ Ames & Herbert, 231.

religious reform', printing primers and biblical prayers in accordance with new reformed faith practices.⁶⁶

This edition of the Redman primer is often the source of some confusion when identifying his books. In his book on English primers, Charles Butterworth devotes an entire chapter to the Redman editions and corresponding imprints from other printers, giving the evidence that has helped to finally confirm the edition of W/S-10-3 as Robert Redman's 1537 edition, but also explains why it is complicated to try and discern this. The first Redman Sarum use primer that follows the conservative reformed content formation was printed in 1535 (STC 15986) with great popularity. In 1536, French printers sought to copy it, and a primer printed by Francois Regnault or his agent Nicholas Le Roux 'was in effect a revision of Redman's' (STC 15993).⁶⁷ In response, Redman produced the 1537 primer- the W/S-10-3 edition- as a 'revision of the Rouen primer' which corresponds to STC 15997.⁶⁸ This 1537 edition is identifiable by its title which then also lacks a year of print in Roman numerals, but has new inclusions of 'a set of doggerel rhymes on the days of the week... under the heading of the days of the week moralised' after the Almanac, which was identified in the Codicological Analysis.⁶⁹ In addition, at 'the beginning of the *Matins*... and at the beginning of each succeeding section of the Primer *Houres*, *Evensong*, *Compline* etc. the Redman editor briefly elucidates the name traditionally belonging to each proportion' and we see these interjections throughout W/S-10-3.⁷⁰ The preface of this 1537 primer is 'based upon the one in the Rouen Primer, which in turn was drawn from Redman's Primer of 1535. [But in the] 1537 edition the preface gives evidence of careful rewriting'.⁷¹ While some aspects of W/S-10-3 are recycled from Redman and Le Roux's primers of 1535 and 1536, sections in the 1537, including the preface, are

⁶⁶ Alexandra Gillespie. 'Redman, Robert (d.1540), printer'. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, January 03 2008, Oxford University Press. Web. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23261> [Accessed: 27.08.2019].

⁶⁷ Butterworth, 131.

⁶⁸ Butterworth, 141.

⁶⁹ Butterworth, 141.

⁷⁰ Butterworth, 145.

⁷¹ Butterworth, 144.

edited, giving it some uniqueness. The following Rouen primer printed in 1538 by Nicholas Le Roux (STC 16007) was 'not only... based on the Redman Primer of 1537 but followed it so faithfully as to contain all of the Redman preface in its expanded form' and copy it word- for word in its entirety.⁷² Due to the King's 1538 ban on references to Thomas Beckett, and further moves towards outlawing conservative doctrine in religious books, Redman produced another revised primer in 1538 (STC 16008), titled *Thys Prymer in Englyshe and Laten is newly correctyd thys presente yere of our Lorde M.CCCCC.XXVIII* out of necessity of printing a primer with absolutely no references to Beckett.⁷³ Thus, by the end of 1538, there are five fairly similar editions of a primer, by two printers, two of which are exactly the same, which would seriously complicate any attempts at cataloguing. The fact that the Rouen printers copy Redman's content not once but twice shows how in tune they were with the adaptations needed for the English book trade at this time – it would be no accident that they chose a printer sympathetic to the reform who had already had success. It is likely no coincidence that Redman chooses to revise his primer against the 1536 Rouen edition as the competition with imports was likely fierce. He would not have need to revise again in 1539 as importation of English books was banned in 1538 also, and Redman died in 1540 anyway.

Referencing the readership of W/S-10-3

W/S-10-3 is not a book which readers would sit and read chronologically, its purpose is to structure the day and certain sections are relevant at certain times. The intricate formatting of the text is designed to help a reader locate certain pages, and it is unlikely that a reader would randomly open a page and write in the margins, nor would they read through the book chronologically until they find a passage which inspires them. Each piece of marginalia is therefore a reaction to specifically sought-after page, or a response to what was being read at the time because of what was necessary to read at that time. The textual content may have had a direct influence on the

⁷² Butterworth, 171.

⁷³ Butterworth, 174.

reader using it for devotional purposes, and the marginalia and marks are therefore emotional or spiritual responses, whether it is to the doctrine or the material value of the page. The Reformation changes however would be the opposite, dictated by legal mandates, and the book would be studied chronologically to find those that require change. It is these physical alterations with which I wish to start.

All the excisions in W/S-10-3 are likely to have been caused by the same string of events: the restrictions and eventual ban on certain religious doctrine introduced and enforced by Henry VIII. What needs to be discussed is what these physical changes help us interpret about the book, as most of the excisions have been done so precisely that the legibility of the text is uncompromised, suggesting that those pages being excised because of external forces on the reader still held value for that reader. Elizabeth Patton describes a 1530's primer, also imported from France, printed by Francis Regnault in Paris (STC 15968), where excisions criss-cross in a web on the page distinctly rejecting as much surface area as possible- while still leaving it legible. Her argument for this is that 'the reader of the later 1534 edition seems to have reached a diplomatic compromise, drawing nearly invisible lines through only small areas of the rubricated text'.⁷⁴ The excisions are a way of ensuring that with their preserved legibility, a reader can maintain private devotion with these passages without incrimination. However, excisions that completely remove parts of pages must either be passages of incredible incrimination, or have had no personal relevance to the faith of the reader and a 'diplomatic compromise' between private devotion and legal mandate has not been necessary. However, the very presence of legible excised text suggests that whomever of our readers was making these changes, they are struggling with the concepts of public and private faith, either through disagreement with the cultural change, or simply ambivalence. Amongst the other enigmas of W/S-10-3, when faced with excisions, there is the inherent problem of deciding whether it is intended for the verso or the recto. In the Codicological Analysis, for convenience the approach

⁷⁴ Patton, 97.

was taken to list it by both the verso and recto sides of the page on which it is visible, so as not to prematurely determine discussion on its meaning. Upon reflection the decision as to which side of the page was the intended victim remains less important compared to how the change was made and what this can tell us about our reader. Unless the page content is directly relevant to the point, or it is completely clear as to the target of the excision, then there isn't scope for focusing on, and making the theological argument for, each excision individually. However, the Codicological Map of alterations in Appendix 2 will allow further scholarly research into this subject.

Discussions on John Osborne and F.B will be done simultaneously, as although the amount of marginalia we can attribute irrefutably to them differs considerably, the way in which they interact with the book is similar. Both John Osborne and F.B record their names next to their marginalia, but while they are asserting their identity or importance as is the case of the Manorys, there is also a direct response to the page upon which they are writing. To F.B, we can attribute the marginalia around the second page of 'The Song of Zachary' in the *Laudes* (fig 30), where they have formed their own spiritual verse or a prayer in response to the doctrine on the page. It extends across the top, bottom, and outer margins of the page, although due to the trimming of the text block, the marginalia of the top margin is illegible. I am confident that all the marginalia on this page is the work of F.B due to similarities in the handwriting, such as the flourish, or tail, that appears on the end of some of the consonants. John Osborne has chosen L^v, the last page of the *Laudes*, containing 'The ninth hour of the compassion of our Lady', and the short single sentence of marginalia is written along the top margin. To John Osborne I am going to confidently attribute the marginalia on Hiiii^r of W/S-10-3, where 'god be merciful unto me' has been written twice along the top margin, although the first instance has been mostly cut off by the trimming of the text block (fig 31).⁷⁵ Similarities in the handwriting, such as the use of the double 'f' in 'father' from his naming piece 'Abba my father all things John Osborne' (fig 32) and in 'merciful' from 'god be merciful', plus

⁷⁵ W/S-10-3, Hiiii^r.

the join pattern on the double 'l' in 'all' and in 'merciful', indicate that these pieces are by the same person. With just these two pieces of evidence there would not be enough to question why one reader has more marginalia than another, however, John Osborne has written his marginalia on page L^v, which precedes the first loss of what were likely to be blank pages used for marginalia, torn out from between pages L^v and Lii^r. It is arguable that his single line of marginalia was accompanied by much more on these blank pages, though this doesn't necessarily mean that John Osborne is the one who added the blank pages, but merely utilised them. But these are no longer here, and we are left to speculate. Since these two readers are not just marking the book but actively interacting with the doctrinal content, they are likely owners who used the book before primers fell out of common use. Primers fell out of devotional use as Protestantism formally developed, as Books of Hours as a genre would be unsuccessfully revived,

In the early years of Edward VI, in 1560, again in 1565, and then in 1575.

But by that date it was a curiosity, out of step with the evolving Protestantism of the Elizabethan Church, in which the whole notion of such a book and the devotional regimes it implied was increasingly alien.⁷⁶

Thus by the middle of the sixteenth century, and certainly not long after, primers and their rigid routine of structured praying would be out of use. Implied by the way in which John Osborne and F.B are interacting to the text on the pages they choose, the primer has not just historical importance and a legacy, but devotional relevance to them both.

There will be significant difficulty in referring to the multiple John Manorys, not as a group who react the same, but as individuals. For simplicity, individual John Manorys will be referred to by their page number. For example, John Manory who is associated with Surrey and the repetition of the letter 'b' will be referred to as John Manory Miiii^r. Another John is John Memorye Liiii^v.

⁷⁶ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 171.

‘Memorye’ is close enough to ‘Manory’ to deduce that it is possible that a member of the Manory family spelt and pronounced the same name differently, which is not unusual for the period before standardised spelling. Therefore, he can be included in discussions of the Manory family’s use of the book – since he uses the book for marginalia in the same way as the other Manorys, as seen in the Codicological Analysis. The importance of signing their name along with a location – in John Memorye’s case this is Worplesdon – is mirrored between them all. This does not however mean that the religious importance of the book is lost on the Manorys, they could have chosen any book to hold their inscriptions, instead multiple generations have chosen the same Reformation primer. They are passing on a vehicle of faith as well as the book from generation to generation, and each John Manory shows evidence of individual thought in deciding where to inscribe their names. This is not a family tree, with all the names in one place; each John Manory chooses their own page, some with other marginalia and some without. It would be futile to associate specific Johns from the Surrey County Archives documents to individual Johns in the marginalia. There is also no guarantee that the Manorys are the owners of the book who purchased it when it was first imported in England. In typical familial fashion, the male Manory line makes good use of the inherited first names in the family, which would explain why multiple Johns appear and use the book, but all with different handwritings. Although it is unusual that there aren’t any other Manorys in the book with a first name different from John, as there are in the archive documents. How these documents support the Manorys usage of W/S-10-3 and along with the motivations behind the Manorys’ inscriptions, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

The missing pieces and the problems with interpreting W/S-10-3

When interpreting W/S-10-3 there are missing pieces from the book that prevent thorough discussion on some subjects, but also invites conversation around the way in which readers interact with each other’s marks. Many of these missing aspects have been physically removed rather than just lost. Some of this is excised marginalia, such as that on page Hiiii’ (fig 33). The excision on this

page is too low to have contained any text, therefore what may be missing is a small piece of marginalia. Of course, it is impossible to say which side of the page the excision is intended for. The only evidence for either side is that the recto contains other marginalia, a pen trial of ink halfway down the page, and ink dots in the bottom margin, possibly from closing the book with some ink from other marginalia not yet dry, but also could be the ink spots beginning a piece of marginalia lost to the excision. The excision of marginalia, torn from this page in a semi-circle shape is purposeful. If a page had caught and torn accidentally then the rest of the page around it would show some sort of evidence of accidental damage too. The purposeful excision of marginalia is a pattern that emerges in W/S-10-3.⁷⁷ On page G^r, in the *Collettes*, the top corner of the outer margin has been cut away in a long, thin, rectangular shape (fig 34). Due to its location, this content was marginalia: the excision has missed the tail of a letter, which still hangs below the excision. Although, this excision has been more carefully removed than the tear on Hiii^r, they have both taken great care to not cut or tear too close to the text and endanger the integrity of the Latin verse. In fact both of these excisions take place around the Latin text, the semi-circular tear on a page that discusses ‘the true fayth’ and ‘steadfastness in the same fayth’, and the rectangular excision on a page that discusses Saint John the Baptist and Saint Peter and Paul.⁷⁸ These are conservative aspects of doctrine, and it’s possible that the marginalia was conservative as well, but it is impossible to be absolute in interpretation without the evidence and discussion beyond the capacity of this project.

In the sections of the *Houres* and *Evensong*, there are two instances where there is evidence that a leaf has been removed from between pages, without disrupting the page references. This occurs between both L^v and Lii^r, and Liii^v and Liiii^r. Since these excisions do not disrupt the pagination, the paper that was removed could not have been part of the printed text. It was typical of contemporary readers to ‘actively alter their books (when they were bound or rebound) by

⁷⁷ Sherman, 6.

⁷⁸ W/S-10-3, Hiii^r; Le Roux, Cvii^r.

inserting blank leaves for extensive marginalia'.⁷⁹ Paper may have been expensive, but bindings and boards were even more so, with books bought unbound and then bound separately at the request of the owner who could dictate the quality and cost they could afford. It is unlikely that these pages were removed when the book was rebound, as though the text block was trimmed with some disregard for the marginalia in the margins, it was cut with care towards the neatness of the block itself and a desire to preserve the integrity of the book. The removal of the extra pages on the other hand left behind short stumps of torn paper, which could have been easily removed in a rebinding. Following the patterns of the excisions in the *Matyns* and the *Collettes* however, this removal of surplus blank pages was most likely done to reduce the extensive amounts of marginalia from previous readers that was no longer wanted, or illegal after 1538. The first of these full-page excisions in the *Houres* seems to be singular, but the excisions in the *Evensong* is of three pages. Had these pages survived, they would have had the potential for great insight into readership and the use of W/S-10-3, but only for that owner who included them and wrote on them. Sherman points out that,

In the course of these books' long and varied lives, many later readers (and the binders and sellers who served them) felt no compunction whatsoever about modifying or altogether effacing the marks of earlier readers' ensuring that their own is given space, and most importantly, dominance.⁸⁰

It is again equally as plausible that they were removed for sentimentality and for preservation, being taken with a reader when the book was passed on, knowing that if they weren't, they could be discarded from the book anyway. The readers' marginalia are not just instinctive comments from the moment forgotten immediately, they may wish to keep them, protect them, even re-use them if they contained spiritual observations, but this very nature means that they are particular to one

⁷⁹ Sherman, 9.

⁸⁰ Sherman, 7.

individual and potentially useless to another. Sherman's argument about books being dirtied by reader's comments in the eyes of later owners has 'deep roots in the aesthetics and the economics of both scribal culture and print culture, and it informs both the ethics of possession and the etiquette of use'.⁸¹ While it was perfectly normal for readers to write in their books, the social implications that accompanied book ownership, as mentioned in the Introduction and to be further explored in Chapter Four, created a fierce competition for book ownership. Previously owned books had power in tradition and heritage but were not new and had been dirtied by those doing what the new owner intended to- mark the book. Etiquette develops and later owners could make the book anew, but they would remove evidence of previous ownership. The careful re-binding and trimming of the text block could be a result of someone trying to clean the book, which may be particularly necessary when taking ownership of a book with banned doctrine in it. Or, as previously discussed it could be a result of an archival repair, or Sherman's violent thought of 'effacing', or the tearing out of blank pages could be the actions of someone with sentimental attachment to whom the book is theirs to modify. Without those missing pieces, the reason can only be theorised. An area of study that could lead to a more conclusive explanation for each excision would be a study of the physicality of the excisions, rooted in the theory of material culture. Throughout this thesis, references are made to straight cut lines and tears, as there isn't scope to fully evaluate how each was made- whether with scissors, knives or other tools such as rulers, but future researchers could do so.

Before concluding that these pages had been removed, I had not found it highly unusual that aspects of customisation such as these could not be found in W/S-10-3, as it is not the only known sixteenth-century readership habit that seemed absent. W/S-10-3 also has a distinctive low level of *manicula*. Commonly found readership practices include 'systems of signs, a visual shorthand for breaking texts down into manageable sections or signalling key subjects and claims at a glance'

⁸¹ Sherman, 155.

rather than commentary alone (fig 35).⁸² In W/S-10-3, this appears only twice. The small hand that points to nothing but empty space in *The Dayes of the week moralised* and the flourish around the Latin verses of 'The CI psalm' with 'nota'.⁸³ Once again what is not found in the book is as important as what is, as the lack of manícula is not, unlike the missing marginalia pages, an anomaly. Instead it is a testament to the detailed format of the book, described in the Codicological Analysis, and its ability to direct the reader. The primary purpose of the manicule, passed down to print culture from the users of manuscripts was 'to give their own order to the growing amounts of information that made its way into their hands... [and] the marginalia of medieval and Renaissance readers often made use of letter and symbols that clearly served an indexing function'.⁸⁴ In W/S-10-3, the systematic sectioning of the doctrine through format renders manícula unnecessary, and it does not appear that readers leaving their marginalia in the book have suffered in any way by not being able to identify sections. The 'primary function of the coloured initials', as found in W/S-10-3 as well as the colouring of verse headings and page titles, 'is to move the reader's eye through the structure of the text. The use of colour guides the viewer's gaze more effectively than does mere black and white'.⁸⁵ The book itself is a teaching tool on how to read it, not in terms of interpretation, but as a physical guide. With clever formatting that shows the ever-evolving use of print to dominate book production, the reader has no need for regular manícula usage. The now empty marginal space around the text creates an inviting area for anyone with a pen to mark, scribble and simply fill with both meaningful and nonsensical formulae (nonsensical such as we see on pages Aiiii^r, Tiii^v, Tiiii^v, Si^r, BBi^r and Fi^v(2) in W/S-10-3),

'In a sense, they are "graffiti" of the (not necessarily derogatory) sort... writing was not contained by the page in early modern England, with "posies" and other inscriptions appearing on walls, rings and pots; but these texts were also

⁸² Sherman, 25.

⁸³ W/S-10-3, Fiii^r.

⁸⁴ Sherman, 27.

⁸⁵ Erler, 509.

inscribed, in a similar spirit, in the blank spaces of texts' with a merely human need to fill empty space with commentary and marks both interpretive and arbitrary.⁸⁶

Some of the most frustrating absences and missing pieces are those that are not completely removed but are lost anyway, possibly by accident. Throughout the book there are small pieces of marginalia that are either indiscernible, cut off due to the trimming of the text block, or washed so that they are impossible to read. These pieces occur on the last page of the preface (indiscernible pen trials amongst text); G^r (faded- top margin); Liiii^v (faded- top right hand corner); S^r (trimmed); BB^r (indiscernible but likely Latin or Greek, top margin); HHiiii^r (faded, outer margin); Bii^r(2) (indiscernible in top margin but likely Latin or Greek).

Conclusion

There are two ways in which to read W/S-10-3. The first is the way in which the book is structured so that it directs its own readers in how to use it, and this direction has a profound effect on the way in which those readers use it. The colouring, pattern, detail and consistent headings and sub-headings through chapter and verse make it not only instructive on religion and faith but *readable*. For a reader of the vernacular new to these English printed religious books, used to the instruction of the clergy, the mapping of the book would resonate with familiarity. The lack of manica, but abundance of both known and lost marginalia, shows that W/S-10-3 invited through its structure other methods of interaction and reading. Whether it was arbitrary or interpretive marking, the empty margins left behind by the lack of manica was an invitingly blank canvas for all readers.

While the book could easily instruct a sixteenth-century reader through its content, the subsequent marginalia and adapting of the book means that us as modern readers require additional

⁸⁶ Sherman, 23.

methodology to navigate W/S-10-3. The readers, of whom we have multiple names identified, interact with the book in differing ways with different motivations. While we can discuss the idea of readership in the broader sense of the sixteenth century, literacy, and society, the evidence available also means that they cannot all be reacting the same. F.B and John Osborne respond to the doctrinal content with faith motivated commentary on specific pages, while the Manorys are choosing specific pages as vehicles of their names and locations – a subject to be discussed further in Chapter Four – and these two groupings require equal attention. It has been vital to this project that this distinction is made before thorough discussion begins.

Nor am I the first to find that the altered condition of W/S-10-3 causes some confusion when it comes to interpretation. While the printer and edition of the book is currently catalogued correctly, this was not an easy decision for the custodians to come to, and for a time I also believed the book to be of a different printer and edition. However, despite the marginalia and the excisions, it remains to be a near complete example of Redman's 1537 primer that was culturally successful. While there are nine known copies listed in the STC, the only digitisation is of an edition of poorer and less-complete condition. W/S-10-3's rare survival and the marks of its readerships means that it has the potential to be used as foundation evidence of sixteenth-century Reformation print culture and readership and should be digitised to be used as such.

Images: Chapter Two



Figure 28- The original pasteboards of W/S-10-3 still attached, with some design features surviving and the remnants of gold colouring.



Figure 29- The new binding of W/S-10-3 with a partial print date mark of 'circa 154', referring to the Pety custodian's theory of the print date of 1543.



Figure 30- The marginalia of F.B written around the margins of 'The Song of Zachary' in the Laudes.

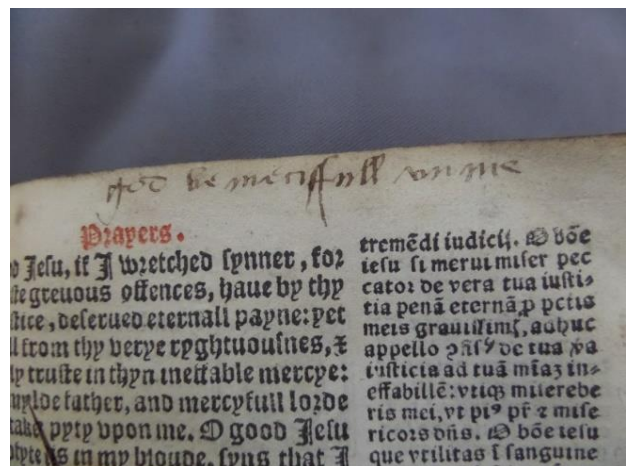


Figure 31- Further marginalia – 'God be merciful upon me' – I have attributed to John Osborne on the page in the Prayers.

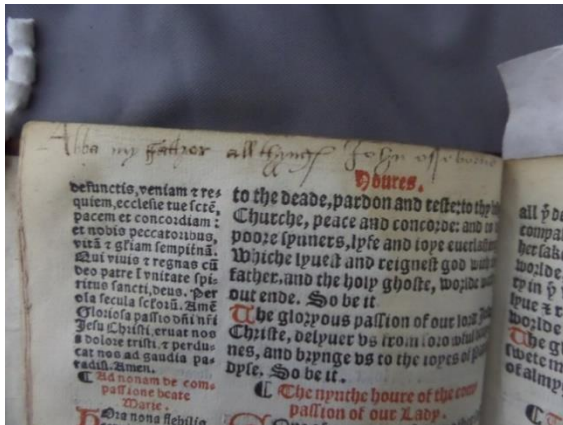


Figure 32- Marginalia of John Osborne on a page in the Hours.

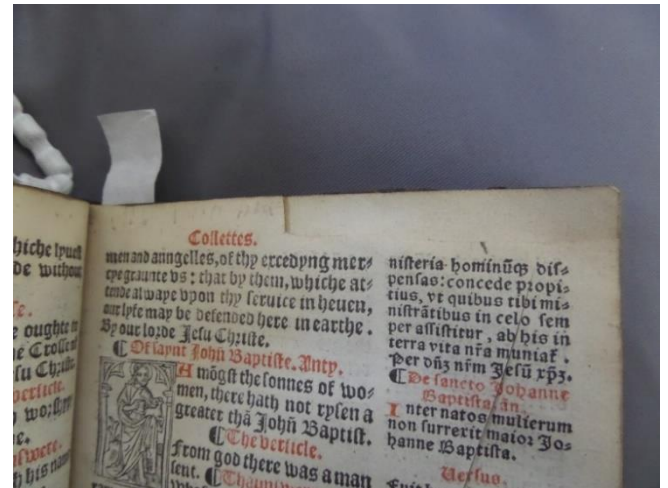


Figure 34- Top right-hand corner of a page in the Collettes, having contained marginalia, removed.

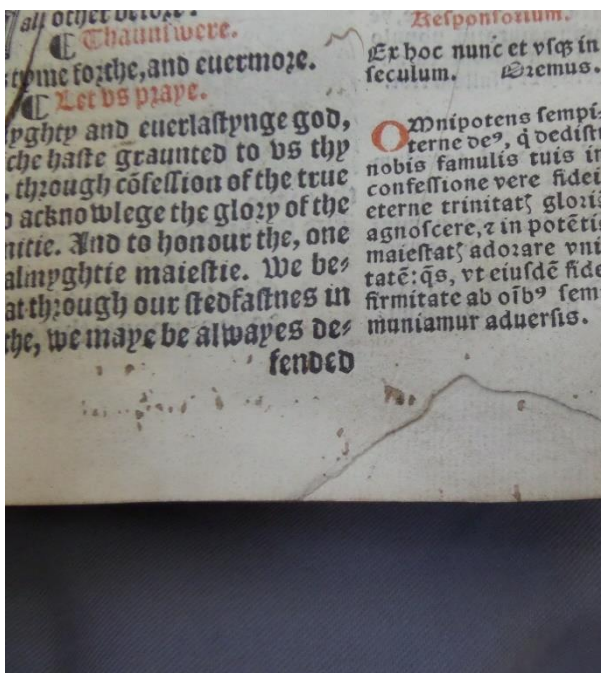


Figure 33- Corner of the page likely containing marginalia removed.

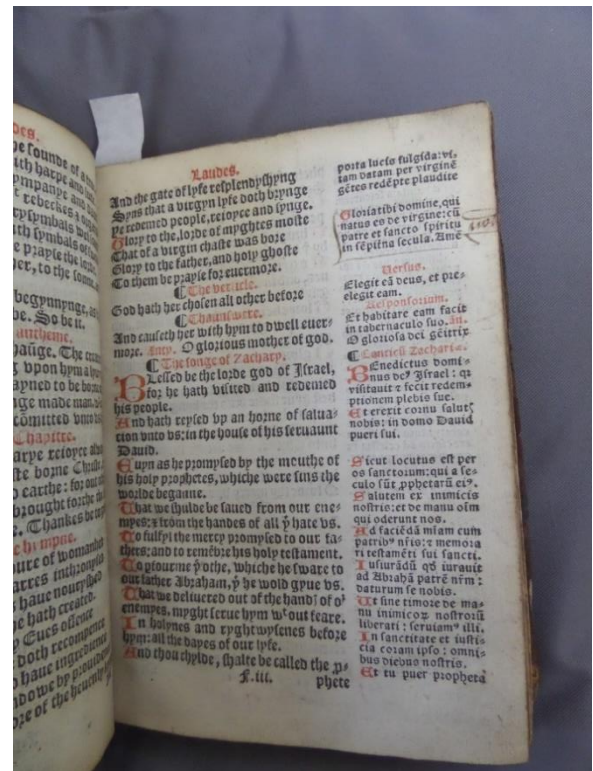


Figure 35- A Latin verse in the Laudes highlighted with ink lines and 'nota'.

Chapter Three: Avoiding censorship and how to read censored books

In this chapter I intend to focus upon the methods of both printer and reader to avoid falling victim to the censorship on the production of literature and doctrinal practice that was a part of state intervention in personal devotion during the Reformation. The ambition of printers to bring their material to the open market and readers to utilise this period of transition in religious practice is evident within W/S-10-3 and should shape the way in which we view how the people of England reacted to this adaption of their daily practices. As argued by Andrew Cambers in his discussion on the marginalia in Margaret Hoby's diary, even though it is not a religious book,

The diary also illustrates that the practice of reading was at the very heart of godly religious culture, in part because it could be private and public, personal and domestic, but also because it provided a common link that connected other central aspects of their religious behaviour.⁸⁷

During the Reformation, the connection of people with central aspects of behaviour was how they reacted to the mandates on their practices. Reading was censored through a series of laws introduced to keep the reading material, and consequentially its recipients, restricted to only those books of which the state approved; it was however inevitable that systems of avoidance would develop. This was because reading devotional material was at the heart of religion in church and at home, and the population – printer and reader alike – developed ways to avoid the censoring of their material and practices for the very same reason,

The brutal reality of sixteenth-century history placed murderous religious differenced at the centre of everyone's consciousness, specifically the need to declare or hide one's faith in a time of

⁸⁷ Andrew Cambers. 'Readers' marks and religious practice: Margaret Hoby's marginalia', in *Tudor Books and Readers*, ed. by John N. King (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012) pp.211-231. P.215.

bewildering and invariably destructive change. Accordingly, early modern people were attuned to the ubiquity of lies.⁸⁸

Lying in public to protect your private practices was a way in which people could simply ignore the Henrician Reformation whenever they weren't being scrutinised, but the pressure to do so was born from the harsh criminality of the Reformation mandates. More problematic was getting conservative literature to these people, as while readers could retreat into the privacy of a home, printers were perpetually in the public sphere and under observation; other means needed to be developed than simply lying. Inside the text of the primers, printers would add prefaces that introduced the content in their own words, designed like an early form of a letter from the editor, that altered the perception of what was to follow. Justifying the inclusion of potentially controversially conservative doctrine, these prefaces appear in many primers. Primers produced by English printer William Marshall would regularly use the prefaces to declare support for the Reformation, under the patronage of Queen Anne Boleyn; 'it is to her that he dedicates the preface of one of them' (STC 261 19).⁸⁹ Redman's was both successful and useful enough to have been copied by Le Roux in 1538, as identified in Chapter Two. His interjections, also copied by Le Roux, are however specific to the Redman 1537 edition as claimed by Charles Butterworth when he discusses STC 15997, identifying the edition of W/S-10-3 as rather unique and significant. The rarity of its survival may be due to its rather sudden illegality, as with the 1538 ban on references to Thomas Beckett 'it outmoded his Primer of 1537, which had freely mentioned St. Thomas of Canterbury thrice in the church calendar, once in the Litany, and twice among the Epistles and Gospels' and Redman was required to revise his primer again.⁹⁰ Using the term 'corrected' in the place of 'translated', the 1538 primer,

seems to have been tantamount to notifying the public that already in the year 1538 (which was sometimes reckoned to extend to the next

⁸⁸ Hadfield, 357.

⁸⁹ Butterworth, 56.

⁹⁰ Butterworth, 174.

Lady Day, March 25) here was a Primer for the devout reader which conformed to the very latest proclamations and injunctions.⁹¹

Redman's constant revisions and interjections are his attempt at pleasing his audience while following legal mandates. Maintaining access to the benefits of the open market is clearly a paramount issue for Redman; printers are trying to ensure it remains accessible to them at a time when printing in England was becoming more difficult as censorship was increasing. Until 1520 'printing and bookselling developed with complete freedom in England' while the use of printing to spread satire and sedition had been rapidly expanding and gaining momentum.⁹² Andrew Pettegree in *The Book in the Renaissance* alludes to the success of printing presses catalysing their own censoring, as 'the increased number of books in circulation after the invention of printing inevitably focused minds on the need for controls', with or without the printing of propaganda.⁹³ In 1534 Henry VIII enforced censorship on printing material when the *First Act of Succession* decreed it to be treason to print anything that was prejudiced against the new Queen Anne Boleyn, or himself. From this first use, the King waged his way into a war against the freedom of the press 'fighting this battle on two fronts, against the Lutherans – to whom his objections were purely theological – and against the papists to whom they were mainly political'.⁹⁴ Censorship suddenly became a primary issue of the law, order, and administration of the country. Navigating this new wave of censorship, that hadn't been experienced in England before, created a minefield of potential persecution for English printers, and the multiple stances the King was taking on various forms of doctrine entering the market created the sectioning of readers that printers were quick to identify and cultivate methods of distributing conservative material to them without disobeying the censorship laws. This became mandatory for survival, as the list of names of those who fell to censorship steadily increased, with

⁹¹ Butterworth, 174.

⁹² David Loades. 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558', in *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. by J.P. Gilmont (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998) pp.264-291. P.32

⁹³ Andrew Pettegree. *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, USA: Yale University Press, 2011). P.204.

⁹⁴ Loades, 32.

those such as 'Richard Bayfield, Michael Loble, Segar Nicholoson, John Rowe and others arrested during 1531 for defying the embargo'.⁹⁵ The printer's need to change the meaning of their content is theirs, a justification of their efforts to conform to the censorship and simultaneously maintain their integrity. While their means of prefaces and interjections to navigate censorship of conservative material would be successful from 1535, 'a royal proclamation in November 1538 made controversial marginal annotations and prologues in devotional books illegal'.⁹⁶ Thus the prologue and interjections by Redman can no longer save the book from being censored, and excisions in W/S-10-3 are now inevitable, as well as the removal of marginalia that references the conservative content, a possible driving force behind the many alterations made to the book identified in the Codicological Analysis.

Protecting the press

Most books that came off Redman's press were based on law, the rest on religion, with the press becoming inactive after 1540. In those final printing years there was steep competition amongst printers of religious books to keep up with the changes to practices the Reformation was making. These changes were taking hold quickly because 'John Rastell suggested that heterodox ideas might receive the widest possible dissemination if they could be inserted in Books of Hours since everyone possessed such books'.⁹⁷ When Cromwell began to use English for previously Latin-based books, Rastell advised him that 'when the English is put in primers, which they bring with them to church, they shall, in a manner, be compelled to read them'.⁹⁸ The idea was simple, the English Bible and other books left in communal places such as churches for congregations who wouldn't have much chance to interact with them personally, were not widely used by individuals, but Books of Hours and primers would spread the new scripture of the Reformation widely and with

⁹⁵ Loades, 32.

⁹⁶ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 150.

⁹⁷ Erler, 495.

⁹⁸ Erle,r 497.

speed. Not only were these books read at home, thereby giving the state access to the privacy of one's personal devotion, but 'Books of Hours, though designed for private prayer, were also undoubtedly books used in churches', so to quite a startling extent an opportunity to police the reform of private libraries in public was introduced.⁹⁹ Redman's law books would have had a focused clientele, while the religious books he produced would appeal to a more varied audience. Therefore, in the same way that Cromwell chose the primers to ensure his changes would be heard, printers used them to demonstrate their reform publicly, which allowed their readers to do the same. Sections such as the *Dirige* and the *Litany* of Saints were successfully included which were considered an important aspect of conservative practice; 'even for those who could not read at all, simple repetition must have made the Office of the Dead familiar as no other prayer was... Literate lay people certainly participated in these services by following them in their primers'.¹⁰⁰ The *Dirige* paid homage to the dead, and the *Litany* paid homage to the Saints, including the archangels, and asked them for blessings. Initially omitted from early Reformer primers, they were restored in these conservative primers in comparison to other imported primers and those printed in England including Thomas Petyt's. The 1535 *Goodly primer* of William Marshall, a precursor to Redman's 1535 edition, 'in a dramatic and eloquent break with all earlier primers... omitted the *Litany* of the Saints and the *Dirige*, and contained no other prayers for the dead'.¹⁰¹ 'This primer produced a public outcry' in an English population still undergoing transformation and who were still conservative in belief, and Marshall was forced to produce a second edition restoring those omitted sections within a year.¹⁰² This is not to say that banned literature was de-criminalised based on public resistance, but that printers would need to find a way to strike a balance between serving an audience that wanted this content and serving a Monarchy that didn't want them to have it. Thus, Robert Redman knew the gap in the market he was to print for, and his own 1535 primer edition was traditional in content

⁹⁹ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 150.

¹⁰⁰ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 220.

¹⁰¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 382.

¹⁰² Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 382.

balanced with support for the Henrician Reformation, and would be revised in 1537 to further success.¹⁰³

Given the building force of censorship, the very fact that these books still exist into the modern age is a mark for the success of the printer- the survival of books shrouded in political controversy is rarely a mistake; and therefore the survival of the few of Redman's 1537 primers, of which one is in near-complete condition, out of the many hundreds that would have been printed, should be a cause for celebration. There are nine editions of Redman's 1537 primer listed in the STC, and ten of Le Roux's 1538 copy.¹⁰⁴ The laws of copyright at the time gave printers control over content, and it became common practice to include 'a preface to these 'pruned' primers, first introduced by the publisher Robert Redman in 1535' into English primers.¹⁰⁵ The preface in W/S-10-3, written by Redman as printer as identified by Charles Butterworth, purposefully causes the reader to receive the messages of the text in a pre-conceived way.¹⁰⁶ The printers would be fiscally and occupationally suffering from censorship as devotional book-ownership became more and more perilous,

Mere possession of a forbidden text became evidence of heresy.

Booksellers faced denunciation by their customers, and confiscation of their stock; printers faced the loss of their press.¹⁰⁷

But the ever-increasing literate readership of England would feel the strain on the reading material available to them as well; even more so after the initial wave of English print on the open market opens social opportunities as we will see discussed in Chapter Four. The interjections represented an opportunity for printers to attract those readers who were looking for private methods of resisting censorship and conformity, for various reasons, for as long as possible. It almost guaranteed sales

¹⁰³ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 382.

¹⁰⁴ STC 15997 (Redman); STC 16007, based on STC 15997.

¹⁰⁵ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 150.

¹⁰⁶ Butterworth, 145.

¹⁰⁷ Pettegree, 206.

but relied upon the knowledge that reader and printer were working towards the same cause – to continue to read the conservative literature they had previously. The awareness of this shared conservative stance was likely to have been more widely recognized because of the use of primers, ‘everyone’s reading’ as Erler termed it, and everyone would be aware of how their primer fit into reformed culture.¹⁰⁸ But the survival of the printer themselves also depended upon the interjections, which undoubtedly had more impact and potential for success because it is a primer, and not something else.

King Henry’s acts of laws on literature, prior to the moves towards censorship in 1538, were focussed on inclusion and exclusion of doctrinal content rather than individual editions. Even the ban on Lollardy and imported books was general and not specific to individual volumes. Thus at the time the printer’s interjections are not yet out of the ordinary, as long as the doctrinal content conforms or is justified (which it would do if sourced correctly) and the author’s authority (and that of the state) on how the content is received by the reader is subverted by the printer. Redman’s books include the preface that appears as the additional alteration to influence the reception of the doctrine itself. These prefaces in primers could be used to suggest different readings that give balance to the outward notion of reformed obedience, to maintaining a private resistance to that reform; ‘between 1535 and 1538 this sort of editorial intervention was reformist but moderate in tone, and nervously shadowed royal policy’, trying to remain legal and reflective of the new mandates, but moderately so, maintaining a certain amount of conservatism.¹⁰⁹ In a period of transition, this was effectively a way of pleasing both sides, navigating censorship but maintaining audiences. The preface here is intended to carve out the primer’s place in the Reformation without narrowing its field of distribution,

¹⁰⁸ Erler, 495.

¹⁰⁹ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 150.

By whiche example many good men & catholique doctours of holy church have syns that tyme devised formes of good prayers and suffragis to the honor of God and memory of his blessid saynts for to move and inspyre the hartes of people to virtue and contemplacyon which *in myne* opinion are wel to be allowyd and sufferid so lónge as they gyve us none occasyon to withdrawe from god his due honour and reverence.¹¹⁰

Right from the start the printer does not want the conservative content to be viewed as a staunchly Catholic defiance of the Reformation because they are not diverting the reader from worshipping God. Yet, this conservative printer is not surrendering all Roman spirituality just yet and justifies their inclusion of conservative content in another way, with both a piety and a confliction in the printer through the expression of what is presented as a very private opinion. The use of '*in myne opinion*' is a language choice that shoulders the responsibility of justification solely on the printer, but also initiates conversation and debate as if they are talking directly to the reader. There is also a retraction clause of '*so long as*', to help the printer avoid accusations of open resistance. The resulting debate is informal and more reminiscent of modernist stream of consciousness than Renaissance legal arguments. The nature of censorship avoidance however indicates that this could all be a ruse, a reflection of the public obedience that is required to be displayed. Whether this preface contains the genuine opinions of the printer on reform is debatable and could all be their own form of propaganda in favour of keeping their presses operational. The printer is telling the reader, and their potential prosecutors, that there is wide acceptance of reform but remembering that these Catholic doctors and their '*religious texts shaped almost every aspect of the lives of Renaissance readers (structuring their daily routines, guiding their belief and behaviours, and even inflecting their language)*' is as important as conforming, and the process will be slow.¹¹¹ These people are not rebelling, and they should not be condemned for such. There is no open rebellion,

¹¹⁰ Le Roux, Aif.

¹¹¹ Sherman, 72.

they are simply slow to adapt, and to the printer this is not worthy of condemnation. This is a clever acknowledgement by the printer of the transition still occurring in the population, likely aware that ‘superficial conformity on the level of prayer book usage during the years of reform often masked... more wide-ranging religious beliefs and practices’.¹¹² He is talking directly, in the vernacular and informally, to a reader who is in the centre of that quarrel between private versus public devotion, and appealing to the side that is kept private, creating a debate about how to read standardised doctrinal content. The underlying argument throughout is that the printer is implicitly highlighting a reader’s ability to interpret how they wish to, even if the state does not necessarily wish them to have that right,

All these prescripte fourms of prayours worshyppynge of sayntes and
suche lyke whiche (as me semeth) ought mekely to be received as menys
tradicyóns so longe as they varie nat fróm that only and synguler
precedent (after whiche all thynges ought & muste be fashyoned) I meane
the worde of God.¹¹³

Above all else they are prioritising the virtuous and the word of God with both old and new practices; communicating that conservative content should not be excluded purely due to political affiliation, and if a reader maintains this piety, how they read is their decision. If it teaches Christian messages then it is all valid in the printer’s eyes, and it being overtly Roman Catholic is irrelevant. This can attract both those who are seeking out survivals of conservative content – those he is speaking to – and those who are genuinely conflicted, who now know that this primer shares their confliction also ‘as me semeth’. This is however risky and politically contentious because it is a contradiction to the Reformation orders of the Monarchy, and knowing this the tone changes to ‘mekely’ statements that, while risking disobedience, do so in a questioning and calm manner.

¹¹² Elizabeth Patton. ‘Praying in the margins across the Reformation. *Early Modern English Marginalia*’, ed. by Kathrine Acheson, (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2019) pp. 93-114. P.93.

¹¹³ Le Roux, Aiv.

Therefore, the printer sees it necessary to build upon their conflict to emphasise their monarchical loyalty,

Saynte, Aungell, Prynce father or mother we should do it for the
respecte of god only which neither would his Saints to be dyshonoured
nor his prynces to be dysobeyed neyther our parentys to be
despysed.¹¹⁴

The printer expresses that while God doesn't want his Saints forgotten, the King's orders also need to be followed, and in doing so shows their awareness of the importance of conversion and maintain faith and loyalty to the Monarch; implying their gradual and future fulfilment of that conversion. Redman even goes as far as to encourage his readers to change the book as they deem necessary with the evolution of the Reformation. In his last message to the reader in the preface he says,

And if there be any lyke faultes in this worke escayped eyther by negligence
or by ignoraunce whereof I have given no warnynge, I humbly beseche all
indifferent readers thereof charitably reforme them after the rule which I
have shewed you before whereby ye may merite highly in Christe who
preserve you. So be it.¹¹⁵

He is accepting that not only may he be wrong in his use of conservative content, which he does based on his own arguments, but that there may be future changes that outlaw them and invites his readers to adapt the book as necessary to keep themselves honest and to maintain the book. While this is a view of someone who foresees the progression of religious change and chooses to move with it, there is also the underlying invitation here to utilise such words to escape prosecution. As we know, the areas that are reformed in the text are done so mostly in a legible way – and Redman would be aware of this technique, and many of those sections he defends in his preface are later

¹¹⁴ Le Roux, Aii^r.

¹¹⁵ Le Roux, Aiii^r.

excised, and the production of another 'corrected' primer is necessitated only one year later anyway. Printer and reader are working together here to create this image of public reform to the benefit of both.

While aimed at maintaining business and integrity, printer interjections are by their nature a publicly expressed opinion, and one which can be used as propaganda. The decision to include such sections, and justify them in their own words, is presented in the preface as an insight into the printer's own beliefs at the time of the Reformation. The language used in the interjections reflects this, referring to themselves repeatedly, and reminding the reader that this is their opinion, and their decision alone as to why this has been included. 'From 1537 the *Dirige* carried a preface explaining the non-apostolic origin of the custom of prayer for the dead but asserting that the service might legitimately be used'.¹¹⁶ It is done so because 'I think it very charitable' to pray for the dead to help them rest, the important phrase here being 'I think'.¹¹⁷ The interjection on behalf of the *Dirige* is a well-formed argument by the printer, acknowledging that 'we that are under the new law' are not to pray for the dead as they are at peace and 'shall be called unto the last judgement' and be seen again.¹¹⁸ The interjection before *The Seven Psalms* is even more explicit in its use of personal opinion relating to the Reformation. Redman directly addresses the King's great matter, and his 'hartie repentaunce of his grievous adulterie' which can be alleviated by the reading of these psalms.¹¹⁹ By evaluating both reasons for exclusion and inclusion in a private opinion made public, the printer is exposing his own involvement in interpreting the text, as if he were reading his own material in the same manner as the Manorys, F.B or any of the other readers discussed here, relating on a personal level to those readers who would mark his book with marginalia later. To an extent, the printer is marking his own book, with his own version of printed marginalia. In *Used Books* Sherman refers to such interjections as both 'scholarly commentaries' and 'editors' and translators'

¹¹⁶ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 150.

¹¹⁷ W/S-10-3, Tii^r.

¹¹⁸ W/S-10-3, Tii^r.

¹¹⁹ Le Roux, Cviii^r.

marginalia', and there is no reason why it cannot be both.¹²⁰ The conversational nature of the debate over the inclusion of the content is not dissimilar to the readers' responses to it; but while the readers' marginalia is completely private, the printer's is public and directed at the readers for the primary purpose of avoiding censorship, and therefore its auto-biographical presentation can be questioned as a strategy, but a reasonably successful one.

The Readers of censored material and the evidence they have left us

Despite the printer's best efforts the sections considered conservative in W/S-10-3 have still been victim of excisions intended to prevent the reading of outlawed scripture. Why the reader of W/S-10-3 would use a primer that did eventually fall to the hand of censorship for their private devotional book is likely to be a result mirrored by the printer's possible attempts to avoid it, in which it benefited many who were disadvantaged by the Reformation. Excising sections of the book would have allowed our reader to present an outwardly reformed image with loyalty to the King and the Act of Supremacy, as anyone who saw the book would see these excisions. In private they could maintain a conservative stance, as those excisions do not alter the legibility of most of the book. What we find with our reader is someone attempting to balance their public and private beliefs for the sake of survival. The present existence of the book, and its evident usage, is an indicator that it survived through the Reformation and onwards, a credit to the readers the printers were able to attract. Legible excisions was a known method of appearing submissive to reformed practices, though the distinctly straight and careful lines of those in W/S-10-3 are unusually charitable towards the preservation of the page and the text in the face of censorship. This behaviour is 'suggestive of readers' efforts to comply with mandates while also ensuring that their books continue to serve a devotional purpose'.¹²¹ The various marginalia and excisions in W/S-10-3 provide evidence to the

¹²⁰ Sherman, 74.

¹²¹ Patton, 98.

different readerships. Those who use the book as a mode for private defiance of the Reformation follow a pattern of leaving the excised sections legible. If they ever need to prove their conversion, the excisions made to the text provide evidence, but beyond that they can operate the book in a largely conservative way unhindered by that same evidence (examples: fig 36).

The issues surrounding Saints is repeated many times in the book. The *Litany*, being the list of Saints represents a fundamental element of conservatism, causing the entire list to be manually rejected with excisions along with the introductory paragraph to the section. It is the section to receive potentially the most telling excisions, beginning on S^r and finishing on Siii^v. The excisions are consistent to cover the entirety of the English and the Latin text, including if necessary, more than one excision into the English text per page, dictated by the amount of English print. While the excisions are performed carefully to keep the text legible, due care has not been taken to make them uniform or precise. The excisions were clearly made initially on the recto pages as the first side of the page the reader came to in the section. No attempt has been made to rectify the fact that fifty percent of the intended targets of the excisions in this section have missed the mark on the verso page when the orientation of the two columns changes between recto and verso (figs 37 and 38). Either the reader never expected to have the book checked, and therefore it was unnecessary to be any more precise than this; or that very little effort was required on behalf of any classes lower than the nobility to make it look as if they were conforming. While this is a risk, it further supports the idea of outward conformity and inner conservatism – someone who had reformed entirely would take more care in ensuring that the offending evidence was properly marked and removed. Fortunately for uniformity, the excisions through the Latin text, where the Latin is always printed on the outer margin, successfully pass through the Latin on both sides of the page.

The first page of the *Litany* has an excision in support of obedience to the Reformation, where a triangle has been cut out to remove names from the list (fig 39). The verso side is the more likely candidate for the excision containing the name of Saint Thomas Becket, who is the one Saint

that Henry VIII took a personal issue with when establishing the Church of England. The true history of Thomas Becket embodied the very argument of Church versus State, and each one's power and influence over the other and 'in 1538, Becket was publicly proclaimed a traitor'.¹²² The condemnation of the new Church over Thomas Becket was so harsh and specific, that no justification of printer interjection could help it survive anything other than an excision only one year after the book was printed, and even mandated a new edition of Redman's Sarum use primers. The excision itself has had much care given to its process, ensuring that only the minute part of a page that required removal was lost, preserving everything around it. The lines are cleanly done, and the difficulty of performing such a cut is evident by the crossing of the lines at the bottom point where the reader has missed the meeting point by a significant amount, causing a thin tear. Despite the excision, the survival of the Saints names around this excision shows their value to the reader – it would have been much simpler for the reader to simply remove the full page than go to the trouble of making a small and difficult excision in the centre. A full reformist would not find this necessary. Interestingly, if excisions made initially to the recto is the pattern followed, then this is the only time when one of Redman's interjections has been excised as well, and coincidentally the corresponding verso side is an example where the excision misses the Saint's list entirely, indicating it was made for the recto and purposefully goes through the printer's addition (figs 39 and 40). The excisions made to W/S-10-3 have so far have not suggested that the 1538 ban on prologues and prefaces was retrospective and banned the ownership of books with these offending passages, nor required their removal like those verses that mention Thomas Becket. Would this have been the case, then the many other areas identified in the Codicological Analysis as interjections and introductions by Redman would be appropriately excised by readers. The interjection on behalf of the *Litany* is the only example. Therefore, the issue taken here by a reader must be against something in the text, rather than the concept of the interjection. The interjection itself discusses the origins of the *Litany* service. After an earthquake in Rome 'Leo the fyrste, than beinge byshop of Rome, caused the

¹²² Rex, 19.

people to assemble & go together in a longe array, prayeng and callynge upon God' for the forgiveness of the perceived sins that caused God to shake the earth.¹²³ The interjection here firmly roots the *Litany* and the list of Saints as a product of the Pope, at a time when there was no question over the rejection of papal authority. Thus, the reader felt it necessary to excise one of Redman's interjections, despite Redman's best efforts.

Reader marginalia in response to censorship

While the excisions are contemporary to the Reformation and therefore overtly support the identification of a conservative readership, the marginalia is harder to date, but based on the handwriting styles is from within the sixteenth century. What is relevant however is the vast amount of marginalia that appears in a book that is conservative – if it crosses a longer time span then the printer's bid to avoid censorship has succeeded into the following decades from the Reformation. The strategic survival of conservative doctrine in the book draws readers who continue to practice – or remember their ancestor's – illegal faith in private long after the initial censorship wave has held strong and Protestantism is not only on the rise, but the law. There is an important principle to acknowledge that these readers could have chosen any religious book as the medium of their marginalia, and a rare survival of conservative doctrine supported by excisions and interjections for public conformity, was chosen out of all the options as a platform for marginalia. This does not however explicitly explain to us what the readers believed in, as 'marks cannot easily be associated with specific confessional beliefs: some owners cancelled indulgences and other passages in compliance with mandates, at times aggressively, while other owners... marked these texts for more directly pious purposes as well'.¹²⁴ The conflict between private and public often means that the same reader exhibits behaviour demonstrative of different religious choices. While we can theorise the purpose of marks regarding conservatism and reformers, to definitively decide on their faith

¹²³ Le Roux, Liif.

¹²⁴ Patton, 96.

would be doing their individuality and the adaptability of readers in the face of censorship a disservice; 'books which delete the Pope may retain St Thomas, or vice versa. So it would be a mistake to attribute too much significance to such obedience'.¹²⁵ What is important is the choice to use W/S-10-3, and the value that is given to the struggle of printed literature to survive censorship and how this gave it perhaps more devotional importance than it began with.

Readers such as F.B and John Osborne demonstrate this telling choice. The pages they choose could enlighten us as well. For F.B, the marginalia that travels up the outside margin of 'The Song of Zachary', reading 'Many of true religion and to be better advised in all their doings' could have correlation to the discussion of the page (fig 41).¹²⁶ 'The Song of Zachary' can be summarised as requesting guidance and forgiveness for the dying and giving thanks for salvation. When requesting that God 'give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death', it would make sense to note that people of religion need 'to be better advised'.¹²⁷ They are responding directly to the text. John Osborne's marginalia of 'God be merciful unto me' on Hiiii^r is of similar motivation for forgiveness and advice, a common marginalia practice (fig 42).¹²⁸ The page that has been chosen for this marginal annotation has significant excisions through the English and Latin. The request for God to be merciful could be an apology for what they believed to be valid doctrine – conservative or reformed – having to be forcibly censored in what would be in their mind, unnecessarily. Much later in the book, in the *Prayers (2)*, the phrase 'god be merciful on me' appears again, on page HHiiii^r (fig 43).¹²⁹ The handwriting is like that of John Osborne, but instead of 'unto' the word 'on' is used instead. Again the page has been excised, and is a potential repeated admission of apology for forcing censorship upon the book.

¹²⁵ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 155.

¹²⁶ W/S-10-3, Fiii^v.

¹²⁷ Le Roux, Cvi^r; W/S-10-3, Fiii^v.

¹²⁸ W/S-10-3, Hiiii^r.

¹²⁹ W/S-10-3, HHiiii^r.

Lone marginalia on page M^r, in the *Evensong* section gives a similar criticism at the censorship of conservative doctrine and its unnecessary translation into English. The top and bottom margins are filled with repetitive marginalia (fig 44).¹³⁰ The legal connotations of ‘billa vera’ and ‘ignoramus’ are verdicts on indictments given by a jury of either ‘true bill’ or ‘we know not’.¹³¹ The reader is likely someone who uses these terms, perhaps a legal clerk or similar. But the use of these terms in relation to religious material is interesting as it implies what the reader thought of this material being printed in English. ‘billa vera ignoramus’, or ‘we do not know if this is a true bill’ sits above the English print, while ‘billa vera’ is assigned to the Latin, the more conservative way of engaging with devotional literature, and they therefore do not necessarily agree with the English translation. However, one of the key details of ‘ignoramus’ in legal matters is the expression of lack of evidence, rather than outright falsehood: ‘we know not; and never, that it is not true... but *ignoramus*. We doubt it, we do not know it’.¹³² There is safety in professing ignorance, rather than accusing the new reformer way of devotion through the vernacular as simply wrong, as ‘where they do not find the bill, there is not the least injury done to anyone’.¹³³ If anyone were to judge these comments, the reader escapes persecution but through their own intimate knowledge of legal proceedings has achieved what they know to be the criticism of the use of the vernacular here.

Conclusion

W/S-10-3 provides evidence to us that the printers affected by new waves of censorship on doctrinal content during the Reformation were not willing to become victims and rest the presses. Interjections in the preface, and in such conservative sections as the *Litany* and the *Dirige*, allowed the printers to be viewed as reformers and while these interjections are often contradictory, they balanced political fealty and market demands in a such a way as to prevent the censoring of the

¹³⁰ W/S-10-3, M^r.

¹³¹ Henry Care. *British Liberties* (London, UK: H. Woodfall and W. Strahan, 1766). P.384.

¹³² Care, 384.

¹³³ Care, 384.

press. The interjections and the preface are there to legitimise the publication of traditional content during uncertain political times. These interjections are also leading by example. The printer is annotating his own work, and in-kind encouraging others to do so too. While this was risky, as even with vernacular printing on the rise ecclesiastical leaders on all sides were concerned about these notes aiding the 'advance[ment of] one doctrinal position over others', the printer is balancing opinions and arguments, taking responsibility for any wrongdoing on to their own conscience and allowing the reader their own licence to interpret freely.¹³⁴

While prefaces exist in many primer editions of the 1530's, the interjections made by Redman at the beginning of conservative sections is particular to the 1537 primer and shows that Redman gave more attention to the justification of conservatism in a manner that would allow it to be in harmony with reform. This is an important historical statement in support of the power of the printer to adapt editions and how censorship forced them to do so and should be read as a personal reaction to the state intervention rather than a rebellious practice. The marginalia left behind on such a statement gives an invaluable window into how this adaptation was received. Given the growing scholarship around marginalia, the comments left in W/S-10-3 could aid different arguments on the printed book market across sixteenth-century in England. If W/S-10-3 was digitised for accessibility, then the statements that it makes could support similar arguments and the near-complete passages that make it unique would be open to study further and in more depth. The resources, such as the table of marginalia and excisions in Appendix 2, should serve to aid this anyway.

The long-lasting effect this had on readers of varying faiths, beliefs, and stances on the Reformation is evident in the excisions made into W/S-10-3 and the marginalia left on its pages. Through W/S-10-3 we have the opportunity to read these excisions as reluctance to mark out rejected doctrine, and the precision with which it was done show that readers found value in the

¹³⁴ Sherman, 74.

fact that this book had tried to remain sympathetically conservative. The marginalia, as the political field shifted and the primer survived into later uses, is an emotionally responsive platform for how the fallout of the Reformation was viewed- varying from guilt and apology for the destruction wrought to contentious criticism. What this evidence shows conclusively is that the survival of books is not by accident, 'fewer than a dozen-and-a-half pre-Reformation primers in English survive', but the manipulations of printers and readers ensured W/S-10-3 would survive as a remnant of a conservative faith, and a relic of the difficult transition.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 213.

Images: Chapter Three

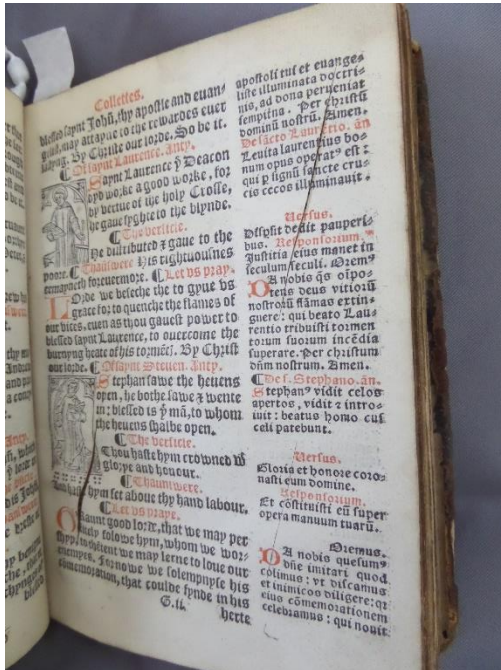


Figure 36-Excisions through English and Latin on page Gii^r in the Collettes leaving the text legible.

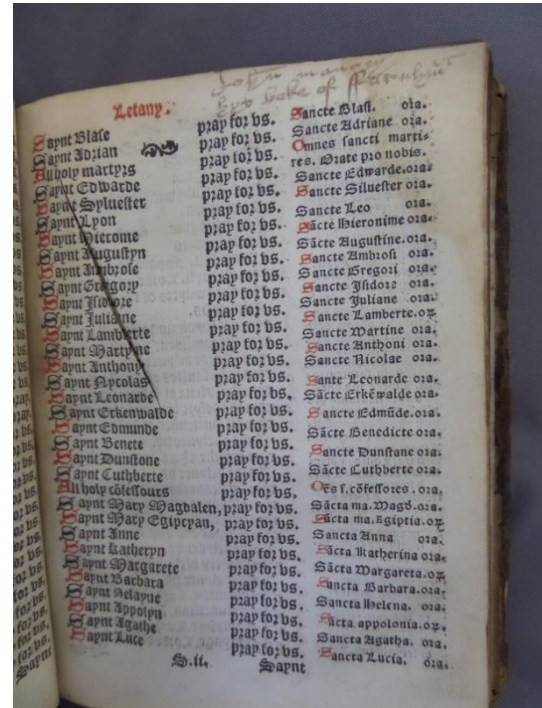


Figure 38- The Litany, recto, where the excision has accurately passds through the list of Saints.

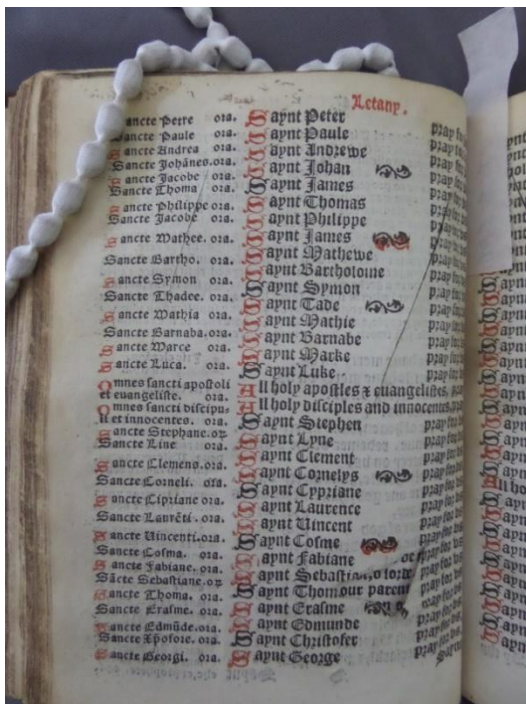


Figure 37- The Litany, verso, where the excision given on the recto does not accurately pass through the list of Saints.

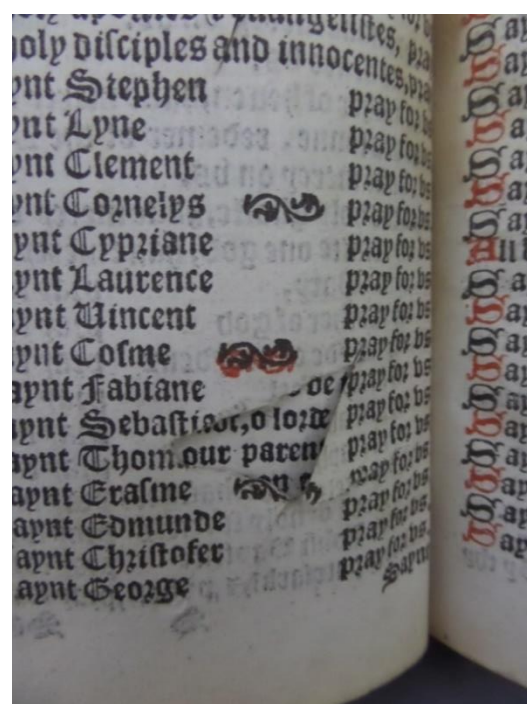


Figure 39- Triangular excision of Saint Thomas Becket, completely removed.

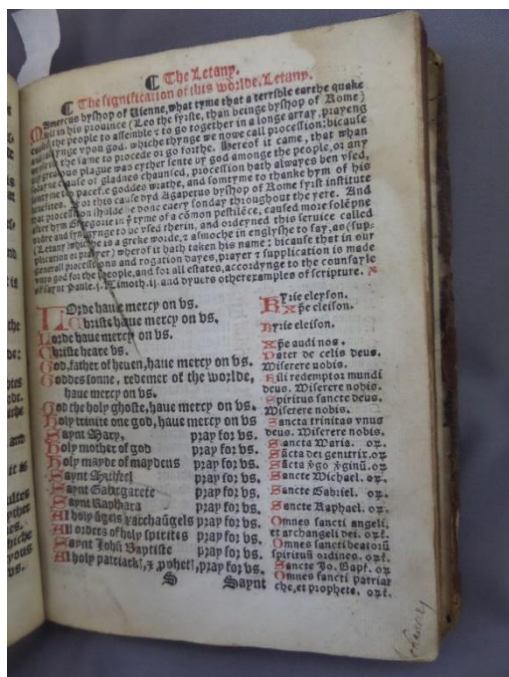


Figure 40- Redman's interjection before the Litany has been intentionally excised.

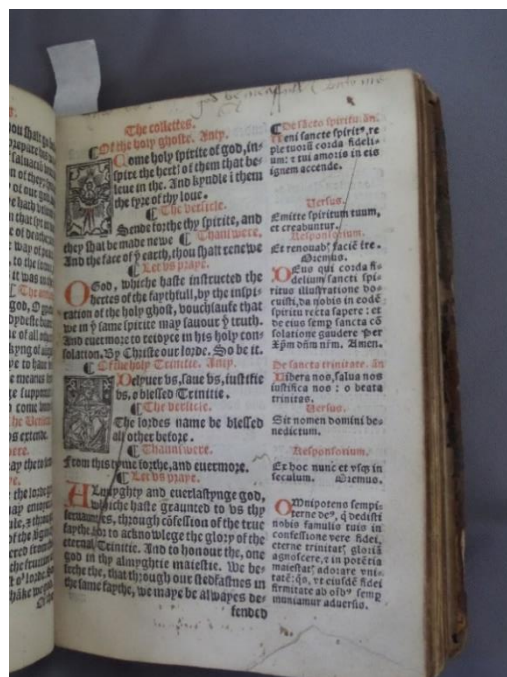


Figure 42- 'God be mercifull unto me' written along the top margin of an excised page in the Collettes.



Figure 41- The marginalia of F.B written around 'The Song of Zachary'.

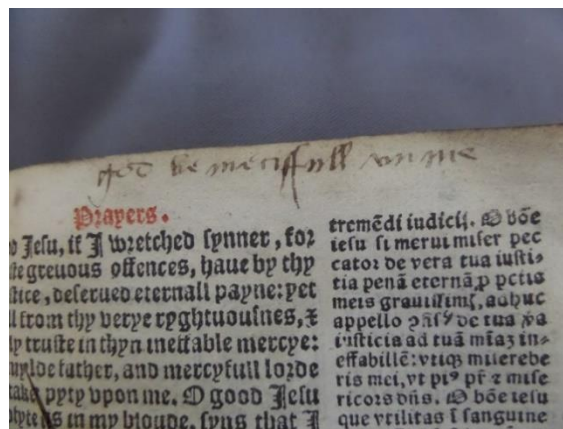


Figure 43- 'God be mercifull on me' along the top margin of a page in the Prayers.

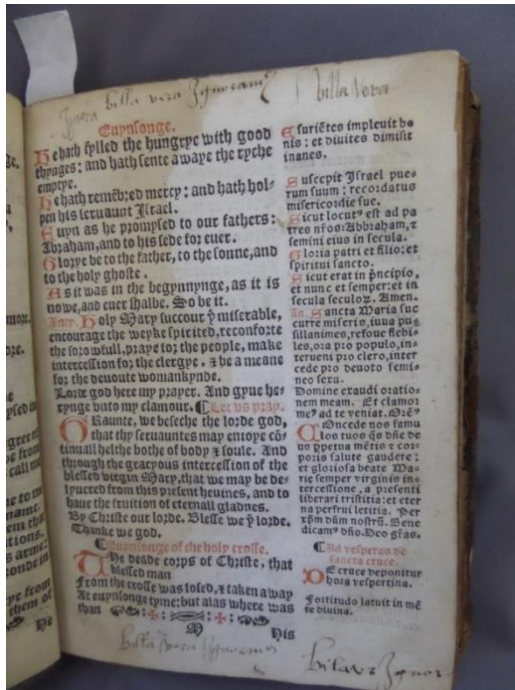


Figure 44- Latin marginalia written in the top and bottom margins on a page in the Evensong.

Chapter Four: How to read the social implications of marginalia

The marginalia in the book, and the physicality of W/S-10-3 itself, supplies evidence for the different readers of different levels of education who are interacting with this book. The complexities around defining what is literate and what is illiterate in the sixteenth century however makes it more difficult to decide where within the social hierarchy those readers sit. Literacy in modern terms is loosely defined as the ability to read and write, the two abilities joined. In the sixteenth century, these two abilities do not mutually support each other, nor is there just one ability to read and one ability to write. Multiple typefaces, hands, and languages dictate the level of literacy that a sixteenth century person can achieve. For the purpose of this chapter, to reduce the background noise on the argument of literacy, I will be focusing on the idea of what literacy was – as they correlate to W/S-10-3 – for the legal clerks and the yeomanry of rural England in the sixteenth century, the two literacy levels singled out in the Codicological Analysis. Furthermore, in this chapter, to correspond to these literacy levels, evidence from property documents in the Surrey Archives will prove that the social classes of these readers fit within the yeomanry as well, though in a much more fluid sense. The social classes using W/S-10-3 are important because they identify the book as something other than a form of religious instruction: an artefact, with value that lies in its expense and the prestige that accompanies book ownership in the sixteenth century, correlating to the influx from printed literature markets. As an artefact, the book has the potential to be repurposed and reused, the notion of which offers a view into the Manory family dynamic. The reuse and recycling of books is another valuable resource in tracking how the literate people adapted law and resources to suit their needs despite state control, and how the book's primary importance became materiality later in its usage, while maintaining its religious importance.

Literacy as an indicator of social class

The quarto edition of the 1537 primer, which W/S-10-3 is, uses only small woodcuts that add to the text, but do not actively seek to replace text with large and explanatory visual stimuli. This indicates that the book was aimed at a reader who would be not only literate but educated to a level that allows them to appreciate and interpret doctrine without clerical assistance. Some workmen could read, but for interpretation with doctrinal context they would require assistance. The larger folio editions of primers that survive, not en-masse but with prominence, would appeal to large, possibly illiterate, audiences outside the privacy of the home, being shown the book and having it explained to them. It would be almost impossible for the lower classes to obtain such books as W/S-10-3 after Henry VIII's imposed restrictions on them accessing scriptures in the vernacular, leaving us with the middle classes or above.¹³⁶ Within this class, primers were widely used by all due to their place in guiding the routines of daily life, but when considering readership, there are many more levels to this literate division.¹³⁷

Those printing in English in general aimed at a gap in the book market of English-speaking non-academics who were unlikely to be able to read Latin.¹³⁸ While the universities bought expensive Latin books where the market was dominated by imports from France, a competitive network developed amongst the other classes and the socially ambitious to obtain printed vernacular books that weren't tailored towards profession.¹³⁹ Spurred on by patronage from important figures, the trend of vernacular books began in the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁰ While universities favoured law books, private devotional books were aimed at the public for wide-spread use, and they therefore became the optimum readily-available vehicle for this network to obtain.¹⁴¹ While still used as a devotional book as we've seen, the marginalia also provides another possible way of

¹³⁶ Sherman, 86.

¹³⁷ Erler, 495.

¹³⁸ Margaret Lane Ford. 'Importation of printed books into England and Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol 3 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp.179-204. P.192.

¹³⁹ Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', 205.

¹⁴⁰ Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', 218.

¹⁴¹ Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', 205.

reading: one of gentrified, or aspirational, individuals driven by this networking.¹⁴² These individuals who leave their evidence in W/S-10-3, are set within the corresponding literacy levels of yeomanry, clerical workers, or those who aspire to landed gentry – a class and literacy level that would have much to gain by proving or certifying worth through commodities, allowing networking amongst peers who would also own similar books. Stuart Palmer revealed that ‘in Elizabethan Canterbury one out of every ten inventories suggested book ownership, while amongst the region’s yeoman generally the figure rose as high as one in three’.¹⁴³

This usage by the yeomanry can be seen in the Reformation excisions of the book, which fall onto the recto and the verso of the second page of the *Collettes*. The verso contains prayers for the Holy Cross and Michael the Archangel, with the excision passing through the entirety of the Latin text on the page, but only the English text for Michael the Archangel’s prayer. This is a pattern that appears multiple times in the excisions in the text, where Latin text is rejected but not English, and in other places English text is rejected but not Latin. In many places this would mean that it is not content that is being excised but phrasing and language. For instance, if the excision is aimed at Michael the Archangel. The excision itself is carefully done, and curiously, instead of passing through the main body of the text, begins in the previous prayer, and finishes halfway through, with the red text title naming Michael as a Saint in the centre. This would indicate that what the excision is rejecting here is the naming of Michael as a Saint, rather than the text on Michael himself, as reformers are only changing the method of practice around Saints, not that the scripture being discussed here about archangels is incorrect. If the text was problematic, the corresponding Latin text would require an excision also, and it is entirely possible that the Latin that doesn’t correspond to Michael the Archangel also received an excision for good measure, as if our reader could not read Latin. Since this pattern of one excision for the English and two for the Latin appears repeatedly, it is

¹⁴² Ford, ‘Private Ownership of Printed Books’, 206.

¹⁴³ Stuart Palmer. ‘Book Printing and Protestant Reform in Reformation Canterbury, 1532-1556’, *Kentish Book Culture 1400-1660*, ed. by Claire Bartram (Oxford, England: Peter Lang, 2019) pp.157-184. P.164.

quite likely that when faced with Latin text, our Reformation reader making the alteration didn't know what they were looking at, showing a level of education that is better suited towards the yeomanry, with the ability to read the gothic script, but not the Latin.

From the unclaimed marginalia in the book we can discern the level of education some of the other readership has obtained. Inside the *Laudes*, in 'The CI psalm' on the recto page, the Latin stanza has been lined on three sides with a flourish tail and the word 'nota', though the end of the word has been trimmed (fig 7.2). The stanza they have chosen translates as:

Gloriatasi domine, qui natus es de virgine: cu patre et sancto spiritu in sepitna secula, ame

Glorious Lord who was born of a virgin, with the Father and Holy Spirit in age, amen.

While the reader's motivations behind this mark would be difficult to evaluate, the use of the Latin word to take note of the line is indicative of a level of literacy that is emerging amongst the readership of the book. The use of the legalistic Latin of 'billa vera' discussed earlier pointed towards a cleric with certain Latin knowledge, and the 'nota' here is possibly the same reader drawing upon their knowledge of familiar phrases once again. Though through the usage of common Latin terms in Church and the courts of law, this doesn't mean that our reader is fluent in Latin. But they have access to areas where certain Latin is used regularly, combined with a literacy level that allows them to understand that the words they hear and the words they read, are the same.

Ownership formulae

While there is a considerable amount of unclaimed marginalia in the book from which we can form an idea of literacy, there is also an even more considerable amount of claimed marginalia, the use of ownership formulae to not just comment on the text but to assert the identity of a reader. Some scholars dismiss the use of the name as mere convenience, as Sherman does in *Used Books*, asserting that it is commonplace and may not qualify as annotations at all.¹⁴⁴ However, there is

¹⁴⁴ Sherman, 23.

growing scholarly movement to investigate the use of the proper name in marginalia and graffiti with an almost anthropological methodology that ‘those signing their names in early modern books make a statement about the intermingling of their technical command – or writing, of the plume – and their identity’.¹⁴⁵ Jason Scott-Warren’s essay ‘Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book’ puts forward the idea of that the use of proper name in notes and other graffiti is reactionary, and his work has informed my argument. In W/S-10-3, there are six named readers who show a level of interaction with the book that is more than pen trials: F.B, John Osbourne and the four John Manorys. Based on their evidence I intend to discuss that the way in which we read the use of proper names in marginalia can help to interpret the material, cultural and social value of a book.

F.B notes their identity within the text in the once-empty margins now filled with verse and prayer they have composed in response to ‘The Song of Zachary’. Their initials have been given a new line and a new sentence, which begins with ‘I me’ (fig 46), forming a full signature reminiscent of the signing of a contract.¹⁴⁶ Other early sixteenth-century readers have similar signatures to their names, such as Queen Anne Boleyn herself who annotates her Book of Hours with ‘Je Anne Boleyn’.¹⁴⁷ By doing this, not only is the reader showing their linguistic abilities but signing their work like any artist, a painter who signs a portrait – marginalia ‘is often performative or illocutionary’ – laying claim to their newly composed ideas they have annotated the text with; he ‘could have scribbled when he wanted to, here his writing asks to be read’.¹⁴⁸ It has dual-purpose of serving the private needs of the reader and demonstrating their literacy and poetic talent to others who would read it later, ensuring that they know F.B wrote the verse, and not an unknown entity lost to history. The presence of this as a network in the social circle is evident, as a similar occurrence happens with John Osborne. The way in which he signs his name differs from F.B, as he has weaved his name

¹⁴⁵ Scott-Warren, 371.

¹⁴⁶ W/S-10-3, FIII^v.

¹⁴⁷ “I Anne Boleyn”, the only full survival of an annotation by Anne Boleyn is in a Book of Hours printed in Bruges 1410-1450, currently held at Hever Castle, her childhood home, as the annotations in her books of hours held at the British Library have had efforts made to erase her annotations.

<https://www.hevercastle.co.uk/news/castle-object-of-the-month-books-of-hours/>

¹⁴⁸ Acheson, ‘The Occupation of the Margins’, 70; Scott-Warren, 376.

directly into his marginalia sentence, but this is no less performative (fig 47); if John Osborne is discovered to be a later owner than F.B, then the use of his whole name could be him demonstrating his importance in this supposed competition between the two readers. The network does not even have to extend outside the book and is contained within its pages.

John Osborne however seems to be offering up his name to God when annotating the book like a form of prayer, and 'on the face of it, this is a private prayer. But it's an ostentatious kind of privacy'.¹⁴⁹ It too is meant to be read, with an assertion that John Osborne, not an unnamed reader, should receive the mercy being asked for. While the marginalia itself is shorter, Katherine Acheson would argue that Osborne gains social power in the use of a proper name, rather than just the initials offered by F.B,

The proper name was the mark of ownership and occupied its own particular space, within which inhabited the residual structures of feudalism and the transactional economy, the emergent structures of mercantilism and capitalism, the apparatus of discipline by class, age, and gender, and the systems governing the disposition of objects in the world. The proper name was a cipher for self-ownership.¹⁵⁰

John Osborne is aware that weaving his name into his marginalia will have a profound effect on his own evaluation of his social influence, as well as having an effect on other early modern readers who were to happen across it, as a symbol of the class of the previous reader and a conversation amongst contemporaries. Both F.B's and John Osborne's methods of marking their names are valid spiritual annotations, as both are inspired directly by the text as discussed in Chapter Two, but it is also a form of self-evaluation and self-promotion.

¹⁴⁹ Scott-Warren, 375.

¹⁵⁰ Acheson, 'The Occupation of the Margins', 73.

The Manorys

The Manorys however have more evidence than just marginalia to reveal their position in the social hierarchy as that of rural yeomanry, bordering on elevation to the gentry. They feed into the social network of the proper name having social power, but with further external evidence to support the idea that recording their names in W/S-10-3 was not arbitrary, but a reaction to a culture and familial effort they were building to improve their social position. Whenever the family appears in the marginalia, the full name of John Manory (and one Manorye) is used, together with the attachment of a geographical location. The John Manorye of Liiii^v and the John Manory of Sii^r are specific in their locations of Worplesdon and Farnham respectively. The John Manory of Miiii^r is less specific but still names Surrey as his home county, the county in which you can find both Worplesdon and Farnham. While they can't boost this self-evaluation amongst the network through education and linguistics as F.B and John Osborne have, which is out of their reach, perhaps they can through their importance in the social sub-hierarchy of a relatively small geographical radius where 'men of yeoman origin [were] patiently building up their lands until they were recognized as gentlemen'.¹⁵¹ John Manory of Uii^r refers to a generalised 'parish' but given the close geographical locations of the Manory generations, it is safe to assume that this generic 'parish' is within Surrey or close by, likely in one of the other settlements named in various historical papers linking to the family. But while he doesn't use a location, this John Manory explicitly refers to W/S-10-3 as 'hys boke', asserting himself not just as a user but an owner of an artefact, and 'such an inscription suggests how property, propriety (self-ownership) and literacy could prove mutually reinforcing'.¹⁵² To John Manory, his identity, with his literacy, and his book ownership serve to elevate his social standing in the minds of the readers of his mark and his social class as 'the life writing that we find in

¹⁵¹ Keith Wrightson. *English Society 1580 – 1680* (New Jersey, USA: Rutgers University Press, 2003). P.26.

¹⁵² Scott-Warren, 371.

the margins of early modern books is distinctly eccentric, in that it reaches out from the self and seeks attachment to institutions, values and communities through inscription'.¹⁵³

The Surrey archive documents that support the 'parish' being within Surrey (Appendix 4) have the benefit of tracking the existence of the male Manorys – and one woman – through 200 years, and although not all are the Johns that we are looking for, it does create a compelling picture of the steady increase in the prospects of a family reaching from yeomanry towards gentry. The documents mostly relate to small exchanges of land- usually with multiple other small landowners and tenants that I have chosen not to list (apart from the More's of Loseley Park but they are significant nobles not small landowners). In addition, a useful document listing the movement of civil holdings in the Surrey Parish of Normandy was compiled by the Normandy Historians group. They found that more property on Glazier's Lane, was 'held by Thomas Manory' in 1547-49, who died by 1553, when the property 'descended to his son John Manory of full age'.¹⁵⁴ By '1584 John Manory died' and the property descended to his son 'Robert Manory of full age'.¹⁵⁵ In 1483, property called 'Mariners' in Guildford Road was 'granted to Stephen Manory and John his son', which by 1540 was held by the same Thomas Manory as before. In 1623, 'Robert Manory bequeathed a cottage [...] to his brother Walter Manory'.¹⁵⁶ These extra records help to fill in the gaps left by the Surrey Archives documents and give a rounded view of the size of the holdings that the Manorys are working with. Around 1508 these parcels of land aren't just passing in and out of the family for fiscal benefit, but through the family with the start of a substantial landed inheritance. The given locations on the Surrey archive documents listed in Appendix 4 are useful as well. The family seems to be spreading out, though staying within the county of Surrey. The furthest away from the centre of activity is south to Puttenham, which has a high concentration of Manory activity. By not straying far from the

¹⁵³ Acheson, 'The Occupation of the Margins', 70.

¹⁵⁴ Normandy Historians, *A History of Every Property in Normandy*. Normandy Historians, Version 10 April 2018. Web. <https://normandyhistorians.co.uk/downloads/mss225-3.pdf> [Accessed 27.02.2019].

¹⁵⁵ Normandy Historians (2010), (no specific author), *A History of Every Property in Normandy*.

¹⁵⁶ Normandy Historians (2010), (no specific author), *A History of Every Property in Normandy*.

nucleus of the family the generations are either finding enough work and trade in the area to not make it necessary to move on, or as supported by their finances, the family is becoming just important enough for them to feel the benefit of staying in an area where the name has influence. This activity would suit the emerging middle trading class of purchasers of books in the early sixteenth century. While more research into the history of the family could be performed using the information already found and that of the marginalia in the book, it requires a larger scope than this thesis currently can give. It is a hope that it can be done in the future in a project with the Manorys as a primary focus, and that W/S-10-3 will be readily accessible for the use by, and inspiration for, that project.

Based on the evidence of the documents across these two centuries the Manorys seem to be a family that were attempting to rise through the ranks of society. As Keith Wrightson suggests,

Whatever the definitions of gentility itself and of different degrees of gentility, the very complexity of the criteria which, in practice, established a man's rank meant that there was always room for movement both into and within the ranks of gentry.¹⁵⁷

The Manorys are solidifying their establishment as leading local yeomanry with the possibility of achieving gentrification through the ownership of land, and possibly by extension the ownership of items such as books that were becoming more available to those middle classes and gave the impression to their neighbours that they had money and access to the finer things. By the Elizabethan era, they have asserted themselves as dominant figures in their parishes, as 'yeomen... were regarded as with superior estimation by countrymen', certifying the Manorys' importance amongst the locals.¹⁵⁸ The land that is being exchanged increased in size, from two acres in East Compton to manors in four parishes (Tongham, Seale, Ash and Poyle); to eight acres in Puttenham;

¹⁵⁷ Wrightson, 26.

¹⁵⁸ Wrightson, 31.

to four new manors (Hill Place, Tyting, Polsted and Westbury); to land in Glasiers Mead that grows from the message of an orchard and a barn to eleven acres with a meadow of five acres.¹⁵⁹ While these aren't exceptionally large holdings, it was enough to assert the family as freeholders with control over their own movements, free to move from place to place unencumbered by the restrictions of landlords. Thomas Manory of Puttenham is even listed as a yeoman, though deceased, in 212/85/1 in 1571.¹⁶⁰ His son was a husbandman, likely working the land established by his father, whose own son goes on to become a tailor, part of the merchant classes. These occupations do not necessarily force Thomas' children to fall behind his social standing, as Wrightson also argues that 'rural craftsmen... might have belonged to any of these levels in terms of wealth' and a tradesperson might also hold enough land to be classed a yeoman but hold a second occupation.¹⁶¹

The prospects of the Manorys greatly increased during the reign of Elizabeth I, with the acquisition of the eight acres in Puttenham, and the Manorys most productive holdings in Glasiers Mead, which also comes during the reign and appears to be linked to Robert Manory's association with the More family of Loseley Park, a sixteenth-century manor in Surrey, built by Sir William More. An established, aristocratic residency visited by both Elizabeth I and James I, the Mores brought Robert Manory in as bailiff, receiver, and supervisor. Not only was Robert Manory above his neighbours, but now he had been given jurisdiction over some of them as a proxy of the Mores. A position which could only add have added to this known importance of himself and the position of the family, and by extent, their access to commodities such as W/S-10-3. Throughout the Manorys' social development as yeomen and potential gentlemen, the network of social competition through material items would be as important to maintain as the acquirement of property. In *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* Catherine Richardson and Tara Hamling state that the family heads of

¹⁵⁹ Surrey History Centre, 212/33/3; 1509/4; 212/85/1; 212/4/7; 212/4/8; 212/4/9

¹⁶⁰ Surrey History Centre, 212/85/1.

¹⁶¹ Wrightson, 35.

established domestic households 'lent his books to family and friends, indicating that, for him as for so many of his peers, texts were part of sociable activities'.¹⁶² While land brought influence, so too did the collection of valuable artefacts, and when 'the book was conceived of as an item of personal property is this period[,] marks of ownership could be aggressively legalistic' and demonstrative of social power to those who borrowed them and saw the marks inside.¹⁶³ Thus the climb through society, the accumulation of land under a family name went hand in hand with the accumulation of artefacts such as books, which too bore the name that was beginning to climb that social ladder and gained ever more meaning to the people behind that identity, as it did to those who observed the rise.

How the yeomen used books

Books become more readily available to yeomanry and trade classes not only as printers and sellers began to target them directly but also as 'the Reformation brought about an immediate and considerable expansion in the scope of vernacular religious culture'.¹⁶⁴ This created an influx of books around the Reformation, valued by all sides of the conflict of which 'the ultimate success... owed much to the success of the early Reformers in aligning themselves with the aspirations of an increasingly literate laity'.¹⁶⁵ Literacy in the central classes of yeomanry and gentry would be essential to the ultimate success or failure of the Reformation changes disseminating throughout the main population. Previously unattainable books printed in Latin for the high levels of society and the clergy, are suddenly available in the vernacular for these yeomen and gentlemen, providing a new market for networking commodities that are not just valuable but useful and,

The demand for vernacular instruction led to the inclusion of increasing quantities of vernacular rubrics to tell readers what they were reading and

¹⁶² Catherine Richardson and Tara Hamling. *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (Yale, USA: Yale University Press, 2017). P.197.

¹⁶³ Scott-Warren, 373.

¹⁶⁴ Rex, 102.

¹⁶⁵ Rex, 102.

when and how they should read it... Conventional limits on the use of vernacular in such books were being quietly pushed back.¹⁶⁶

The highly detailed and instructive formatting of books such as W/S-10-3 are formed so because of the need to introduce vernacular study to the middling classes, and as these become more attainable, in their readability and production quantities, the demand amongst the yeomanry grew. The Reformation publishers fed on the social targets of these socially growing families, such as the Manors, to ensure their compliance by letting them accomplish elite book ownership through the reformed lore and a sense of control over book buying they previously didn't have. The respect the yeomen and gentlemen then had amongst their illiterate neighbours was be amplified by the production of a religious book in English, an artefact that could be used as a means of instruction in the household and a show of superiority over their less-literate neighbours,

Through making, using, exchanging, consuming, interacting, and living with things people make themselves in the process. The object world is thus absolutely central to an understanding of the identities of individual persons and societies.¹⁶⁷

How these yeomen who were benefitting from the Reformation's production of vernacular literature chose to use W/S-10-3 is a way of them expressing these social aspirations and asserting their perceived authority, which was made possible by ownership of the book. This is not to say that the use of W/S-10-3 by the Manors, and their motivation to record their names, was not also driven by their devotional practices. The Manors could have used an reformed primer that had not undergone excisions, but there is a significance to the book they chose when,

¹⁶⁶ Rex, 91.

¹⁶⁷ Chris Tilley. 'Objectification' in *Handbook of Material Culture* ed. by Chris Tilley and Webb Keane (London, UK: Sage, 2013) pp.60-73. P.61.

on Whitsunday 1559 England became once again an officially Protestant nation. The Edwardian prayer book, now re-enacted with only a few changes, was again the only legal form of worship... but it took more than that to make a whole nation Protestant.¹⁶⁸

John Manory of Sii^r chose the *Litany*- the list of Saints excised for being an explicit conservative inclusion in the book. Associating one's self with the list of Saints could be an indictment of the family's sympathetic standpoint to the Reformation, or even just to the cultural heritage and representation of struggle and transition it represents. John Manory of Uii^v chooses the *Dirige*- the homage to the dead, another conservative inclusion. Their choosing of this particular book is driven by similar motivations as that of the readership from W/S-10-3's original context: its ability to dodge explicit censorship and remain a conservative mode, whether the value comes from private illegal methods of faith practice, or the complicated transition endured by the people.

In doing so they give the book 'the dual status of most books as both utilitarian and symbolic objects (that is, as bearers of symbols and containers of special associations)' and in including its specific content in discussions of social development the book would develop other uses.¹⁶⁹ Most devotional books 'outlived the contexts for which they were originally produced, remaining meaningful and/or useful to readers who were willing to update them' as W/S-10-3 would eventually come to do with the move away from primers as religious tools in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁷⁰ The book is more fortunate that it landed with a family that sought to repurpose it rather than dispose of it, as it fit with their growing social image. The religious transition the book represents enriches it, even though the book itself does not provide an explicit devotional use into the latter half of the sixteenth century. The survival of W/S-10-3 is not an accident, it holds devotional marginalia and other forms later in its sixteenth-century life that maintain its relevance as

¹⁶⁸ Collinson, 114.

¹⁶⁹ Sherman, 24.

¹⁷⁰ Sherman, 92.

a piece of cultural heritage, but also as an educational tool. John Manory of Miiii^r is accompanied not only by the association with Surrey, but by the repeated signing of the letter 'b'. It is as if someone had been practising the letter like children being schooled in handwriting, which was an acceptable repurposing of such books as W/S-10-3. Multiple researchers of the usage of primers and other printed sixteenth-century material agree that books of all kinds were repurposed and become 'full of handwritten sums, examples of pen trial (lines, pen trials, loops), alphabets, doodles'.¹⁷¹ Even when blank notebooks are introduced into the school room, the tradition of writing in margins of printed books is so engrained in educational methodology that the two modes exist side by side.¹⁷² The children of gentry and merchant classes were taught to read in favour of the vernacular over the Latin to prepare them for 'lay careers rather than ecclesiastical ones' and 'for them, learning the alphabet was probably followed by learning to read prayers from the primer' which was a convenient tool of both private religious teaching and learning to read.¹⁷³ Whether the child practising the letter 'b' is the same John Manory on the page is a reasonable hope- the 'b' and the 'h' of John have the same flick at the top, and it would make sense based on the Manorys' usage of the book as a repurposed artefact (fig 49). 'Penmanship exercises include[ed] letters... copied from the printed text', the repetitive nature of which served as a teaching application.¹⁷⁴ W/S-10-3 can then also be used as an instruction for both English and Latin- the Latin instruction could then increase the literacy and social level of the children in adulthood. Printed, illustrated primers with their decorated historiated initials provided a platform for teaching the vernacular and even if 'it is difficult to know when the primer became a book of reading instruction for children [...] it seems safe to assume that when the alphabet appeared as part of the text, it was intended for reading

¹⁷¹ Acheson, 'The Occupation of the Margins', 76.

¹⁷² Sherman, 7.

¹⁷³ Nicholas Orme. 'Schools and School-books' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol 3 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 449-469. P.455.

¹⁷⁴ Sherman, 80.

instruction as well as for religious instruction'.¹⁷⁵ Eamon Duffy highlights the incredible story of a boy called William Malden who,

Decided to learn to read English for himself. He had been provided with a primer... which he describes as an English primer... By plying this primer on Sundays, and following the English translations of the Latin service he taught himself to read.¹⁷⁶

The Manors' repurposing of the book for schooling children was normal, all children were taught to write in their printed books.¹⁷⁷ Thus at one time, there may have been multiple members of a single household using the book in entirely different ways. The adults of the family are using a book enriched by this Reformation heritage to mark their social networking; the children are using it to learn their English letters, and possibly their Latin letters too, and illiterate members of the household could look at the woodcuts in the book or listen to it being read if they cannot read it, but this cannot be known at this time. However, if we do have multiple members of a household using the book at once, then we can read certain marginalia pieces differently. On page N^r the marginalia across the upper margin reads 'Master Crastall I have me commended unto you' (fig 48).¹⁷⁸ If we read it as the mark of an educated adult, it holds the potential appeal for patronage, a symbol of social reaching, and this usage is common in the exchange of books.¹⁷⁹ On this page is a verse appealing to Christ to 'make me, accordynge to my busyness, partener of thy crowne', which while referring to the salvation of the passion sacrifice of Jesus, it is still a reference to being brought inside a circle or given aid.¹⁸⁰ Alternatively, for this piece of marginalia, 'Master' could relate to a

¹⁷⁵ Annette Patterson; Phillip Cormack and William Green. 'The Child, the Text and the Teacher: Reading Primers and Reading Instruction', *Paedagogica Historica* 48.2 (2012): 185-196. Web. Taylor and Francis Online. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2011.644302> [Accessed: 01.12.2015]. P.191.

¹⁷⁶ Duffy, 'The Stripping of the Altars', 222.

¹⁷⁷ Sherman, 3.

¹⁷⁸ W/S-10-3, N^r.

¹⁷⁹ Jennifer Richards and Fred Schurink. 'The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73.3 (2010): 345-361. Web. JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2010.73.3.345> [Accessed: 26.10.2020]. P.347.

¹⁸⁰ W/S-10-3, N^r.

school master, the sentence submitted as a pen-trial for examination on the progress of the child's education.

The added benefit of the use of primers in the schoolroom is to show that if the book did move through the family as inheritance or heirloom, from parent to child, it did so early on enough in the child's life for it to be part of their education- we are potentially looking at the marginalia of young children, not just adults who inherited it from previous owners. It is then convenient that the final piece of marginalia in W/S-10-3 is also not representative of marginalia in the usual sense. On pages E^v and Eii^f have pen trials over the margins of the page, but more importantly letters have been scribbled out of the text. The letters that are scribbled out do not seem to have any meaning to them, nor is there a pattern in the chosen letters. Together with the indiscernible pen trials across the margin, this is one of the few instances where it seems the book has been claimed by a child, or someone immature, who is simply scribbling and trialling their pen, similar to how modern readers might doodle in a textbook or scribble in the margin with a pen to make the ink flow. Further evidence that our readership is younger than at face value, and the book has been repurposed for them so that they may follow their parents on the social ladder. From early beginnings the education of children in English partnered itself psychologically with the social self-evaluation displayed by the Manors in adulthood, where 'as the Christian reader deciphered the text, he or she was also meant to seek self-understanding', and consequently there rose a 'belief that learning to read required a combination of textual decoding and decoding of self', and while this leans towards the moral and ethical behaviours encouraged by Christian teachings, there is an association encouraged between the ownership of out-of-use devotional books and a child's view of their own identity.¹⁸¹

Conclusion

¹⁸¹ Patterson, Cormack and Green, 193.

While the book's initial importance was rooted in religious instruction, the book as a material object – supported by that religious instruction – is as important when we are considering the readers who bought and used the book. They were complex individuals with intentions other than devotion when using the book, and it is an artefact of value to them rooted in their literacy and how they believed this corresponded to their social class. With an ever-increasingly difficult political and religious society to navigate in the sixteenth century, the book's purpose as a material tool allows it to continue to exist with further repurposing. Owning such a tool reflected positively on their social mobility and the marginalia that they left behind on its pages, corroborated by the property documents, shows the Manory family strengthening this social connection. For the Manorys, F.B and John Osborne, the transition of the book contains within itself a sense of networking and competition with both previous and future readers, and the level of engagement they publicly performed in the margins is tied to how they evaluated their own level of social influence. This usage passed to children and their use of the book in the schoolroom that pre-conceives within them the idea that their marginal notes will be evaluated against their identity by peers when the teacher evaluates their progress, and 'this process of transmission within families and kinship groups might go on for generations and even centuries'.¹⁸² Furthermore, the attachment to artefacts by the middle classes and the way in which they wielded their identities to promote their social level within books, as argued in this chapter, supports 'the place of the book in the changing textures of personal, social, and material life, showing how books found their place in the fashioning of individual identities, in the negotiation of relationships, and in encounters of the world of things'.¹⁸³

¹⁸² Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 23.

¹⁸³ Scott-Warren, 380.

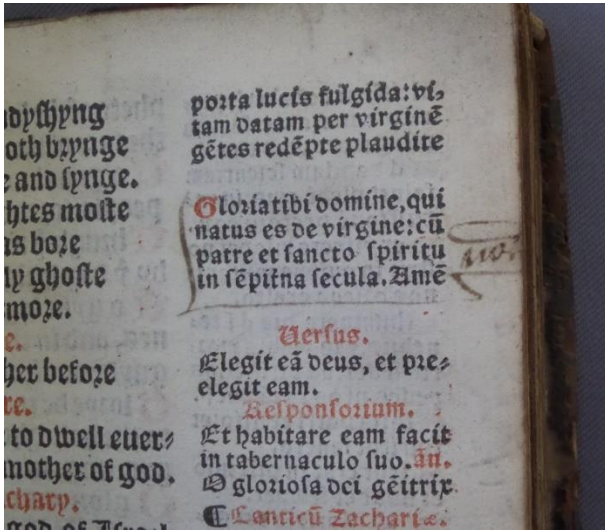


Figure 45- Latin stanza underlined and indicated with a flourish and the word 'nota'.

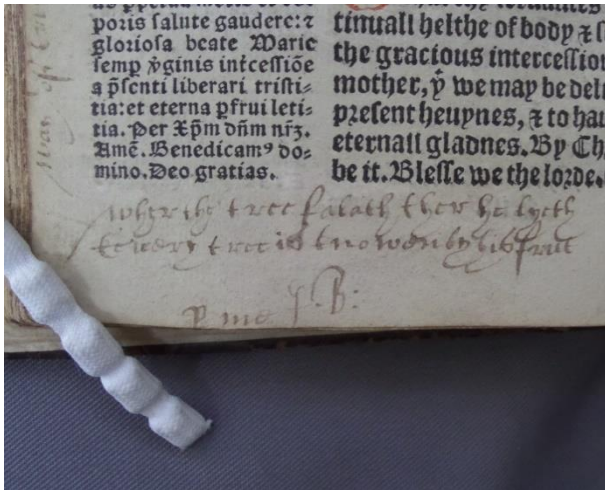


Figure 46- The performative marginalia of F.B.

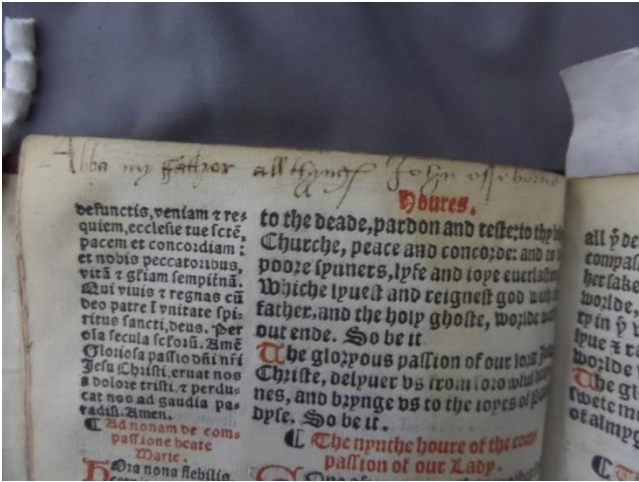


Figure 47- John Osborne signs his name against his marginalia.

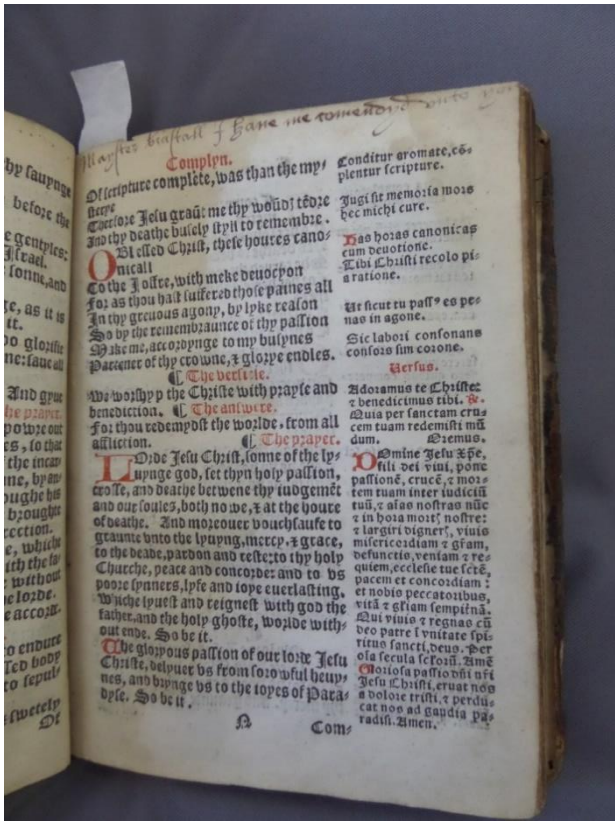


Figure 48- An appeal to a school master or a patron named 'Master Crastall'.

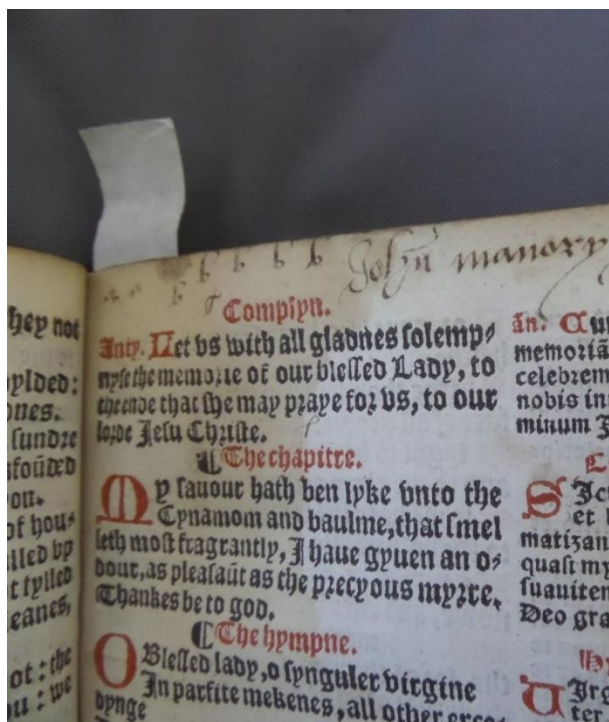


Figure 49- John Manory of Surrey has signed his name at the top of a page in the Complyn, accompanied by the repeated letter 'b'.

Conclusion

The printer's approach has ensured the survival of some editions of Redman's 1537 primer, including W/S-10-3. It also had contemporary success, having been copied by Nicholas Le Roux in its entirety in 1538 for print and importation to England; this latter fact causes some confusion in the cataloguing of this volume. Readership was also diversified by this approach, as the inclusion of conservative content attracted those who endeavored to have a different public conformity to the Reformation compared to their inward, private attachment to traditional pre-Reformation practices. Evidence for this readership has been left behind in W/S-10-3 through different media. Pages have been excised but left legible and have been left so by those who, like the printer, were resisting restrictions to their religious reading material. It demonstrated the ability of a sixteenth-century middle class literate readership to be simultaneously responsible for publicly disseminating reform for the social opportunities it can offer them, and privately ignoring it for restricting their practices in private. The delicate way in which excisions have been made, and the expression of guilt in marginalia for cutting through scripture, exhibits the confliction felt by this readership when they can no longer ignore the mandates.

W/S-10-3 provides an invaluable window into the actions of the printing and reading population of England during the sixteenth century. During the Henrician Reformation, devotional book ownership was simultaneously more widespread and more perilous. New legal mandates restricting print and English books were not specific in their editions, printers or importers. This oversight gave opportunity to printers such as Robert Redman to adapt their devotional literature to avoid this censorship with the addition of prefaces that introduce the book to the reader, and should it be necessary give argument for the justification of including conservative content. While prefaces were the norm, Redman also interjects at the beginning of certain passages. The language he uses throughout both is conversational, informal, and stylised to speak directly to a reader about the

decisions Redman made around the content of editions. Redman is explicit in his expression of opinions, such as his belief on worshiping Saints in the preface where he 'thinke[s] it no impiete nor diffidence in goddess promise eyther to pray to thém or to worship thém', justifying his decision to print the *Litany*.¹⁸⁴ In his interjection at the beginning of the *Litany* itself, he describes that 'this service called, *Litany*,' is 'a supplication of prayer... made unto God for the people'.¹⁸⁵ Based on this, W/S-10-3's importance lies in the content that the book's rare survival preserves. However, definitively assessing reactions to this transitional period of reform is difficult, as the transition itself and its legal mandates on religious practice left the population conflicted, and confused as to where Catholic practices stopped, and Protestantism began. Those conservative printers and readers clinging to the practices of the past use the confusion to separate their public and the private faith.

When considering W/S-10-3 as an artefact, influenced but not defined by its devotional meaning, alternate uses for the book and the enrichment it brought to later owners' lives arise. The Manory family held the conflicted religious messages in the formatting, construction, and marking of the book in enough regard for it to become an heirloom- the start of the book's treatment as an artefact. However, more important to this family was the prestige and social ambitions which such book ownership provided and the building of their legacy as aspirational gentry. With a level of property value that gained them enough importance in the yeomanry to demand respect amongst their countryside neighborhoods, the demonstrated literacy levels and use of proper names were a reach towards a higher social status. Not alone in this reach, other readers such as F.B and John Osborne also used the book as part of this network of competition as a conversation to each other and other readers. But while this is an alternate use of the book as a material object, their religious motivation is still clear; whether it is the conservative content or the struggle to avoid censorship

¹⁸⁴ Le Roux, Aiii^r.

¹⁸⁵ Le Roux, Iii^r.

that the excisions represent, these later readers have made a conscious decision to align themselves with a modified primer more conservative than reformed.

As a final note W/S-10-3, with its almost complete survival of sixteenth-century scripture, unique commentary, Reformation excisions and marginalia from across the century, is a rare survival of the manifestation of the transition and conflict of the religious practices of the Henrician Reformation. There is also a wealth of research material that would aid multiple disciplines in humanities studies. As these subjects gain more focus in current study with publications such as the *Early Modern Marginalia* anthology edited by Katherine Acheson, and Claire Bartram's *Kentish Book Culture*, W/S-10-3 deserves to be a part of these conversations on an accessible platform. While this thesis has been able to assess methods of censorship avoidance, place the primer and the printer within sixteenth-century markets, identify and evaluate the motivations of marks by different readers and their place in the social hierarchy, there is still much research and analysis that could be done on W/S-10-3. Theological arguments, material culture, woodcuts and imagery, and genealogical research on the Manors – all of which was not within the scope of this project – could explain even more about the survival of W/S-10-3 and the people who used it. This research could also enrich and give more evidence to those fields of study, and while the rare survival of W/S-10-3 suggests that it should be digitised, this thesis and the resources of research on W/S-10-3 that it contains can be used as a starting point for the book to be further researched.

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Appendix 1: Contents of W/S-10-3

Title Page

An almanack for XXIIII years

Calendar

+^r The days of the week moralised

+^v The Commandments of God

+iiii^r The symbol or crede of the great Doctour Athenasius

+vi^r The office of all estates

Ai^r A preface

Aiiii^r Johan I

B^r The gospels of the disciples (untitled)

Bii^v The passion of our lords

Ciii^r The xii articles of the faith

Ciiii^v The Mityns

Eiii^r The Laudes

Fiiii^r The Collettes

Giiii^v Matyns of the Crosse

H^v Houres

Lii^r The Evensong of our Lady

Mii^r Complyn

Niii^r Prayers

Oii^r The XV prayers of Saint Brigide

Pii^v The seven psalms

Qiiii^v The XV psalms

S^r The Letany

Tii^v The Dirige

BBiii^v The Commendations of the Souls

DDiiii^r The psalms of Christ's Passion

FFiii^r The psalter of Saint Jierome

HHii^v Prayers (2)

A^r An exposition after the manor of a contemplation

Appendix 2: Table of excisions and marginal notes found in W/S-10-3

Here follows a table listing the marginalia and excisions found in W/S-10-3, including page references and a description of material lost to the excisions.

<u>Page</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Excisions</u>	<u>Textual material lost</u>	<u>Marginalia</u>
Citation Page	Notes from previous owners/librarians			<p>'Wants part of the title,// And a piece of a Leaf at C4'</p> <p>'for the date vid. Almanack, on the back of the// Title, compaired with the prayer for the king// at sig. J. whence it appears to be printed// between 1537 & 1547; and is the edition// printed by Thomas Petyt at the sign of// The Madythead 1543.'</p> <p>'I believe this Primer to have been// printed in 1537, by Robert Redman.// See Herberts aimes, Page 396. J.b.'</p> <p>'The Edition by ThM Petyt,// which I profess also, is// a different Book.'</p> <p>'76' in top right hand corner.</p> <p>Stamp of Canterbury Cathedral Library in top right corner.</p>

Title Page	Title and Introduction of the contents of the book.	Majority of lower part of page missing, diagonal tear angling upwards at outer edge.	Majority of contents list.	Leaf added to complete page. Three lines completed using words 'by', 'by y ^e ', 'The', and 'Gospels'. 'Hugh Hornby' in top left hand corner.
Almanack	An Almanack for XXIII years	Majority of lower part of page missing, diagonal tear angling upwards at outer edge.		Leaf added to complete page. Left hand columns of lines D.XII- D. XLVIII completed.
+ ^r	<i>The Dayes of the Week Moralised</i>			A small hand-shaped manicule points to empty space in an indenture of the verse about Monday.
Aiiii ^r	Last of the preface, and <i>The begynnyng of the holy Gospell after Saynt Johan.I</i>			Indiscernible pen trials around the end of the preface.
Ciiii ^r	<i>Matins</i> 'An invocation unto the Holy Trinity to be said in the morning when thou shalt rise up.	Top quarter of page excised.	The ninth commandment 'Thou shall not deceive the wife of thy neighbour'. The tenth commandment 'Thou shall not deceive the	

			<p>good of thy neighbour’.</p> <p>Title and first line of ‘A prayer of the Trinity’.</p>	
Ciiii ^v	<i>Matins</i> ‘When thou enters into the Church say this’.	Top quarter of page torn away.	Middle section of ‘When thou enters into the Church, say this’.	
Fiii ^r	<i>Laudes</i> , ‘The Song of Zachary’.			Latin verse at end of previous section indicated by flourished underlining and word ‘nota’.
Fiii ^v	<i>Laudes</i> , ‘The Song of Zachary’.			<p>‘Wher the tree falath ther he lyeth// every tree is growen by his fruit// I me J.B:’</p> <p>‘Many of true Religon and to be better advised in all ther dotings’</p> <p>Illegible word due to trimming.</p>
Fiiii ^r	The <i>Collettes</i> , ‘Of the holy ghost’.	<p>Latin verso ‘Of the holy Ghost’ excised but still legible.</p> <p>‘Of the holy Trinity’ excised but still legible.</p>		‘god be mercifull unto me’

		Bottom right hand corner of page excised.	Likely marginalia.	
Fiiii ^v	<i>Collettes</i> 'Of the holy cross'; 'Of Saint Michael the archangel'	<p>Latin verses & responsorium of 'Of the holy cross' excised but still legible.</p> <p>'Let us praye' and first verse 'Of Saint Michael the archangel' excised but still legible.</p> <p>Latin verse 'Of Saint Michael the archangel' excised but still legible</p>		
G ^r	<i>Collettes</i> , 'Of Saint John Baptiste' & 'Of Saint Peter and Paul'	<p>Latin 'Of Saint John Baptiste' excised but still legible.</p> <p>English and Latin 'Of Saint Peter and Paul' excised but still legible.</p> <p>Rectangular area of leaf in top right hand corner excised.</p>	Likely marginalia.	Faded writing top edge, illegible due to trimming.

G ^v	<i>Collettes</i> , 'Of Saint Andrew' & 'Of Saint John Evangelist'	<p>Latin 'Of Saint Andrew' excised but legible.</p> <p>English 'Of Saint John Evangelist' excised but legible.</p> <p>Latin of 'Of Saint John Evangelist' excised but legible.</p> <p>Rectangular area of leaf in top left hand corner excised.</p>	Likely marginalia.	
Gii ^r	<i>Collettes</i> , 'Of Saint Laurence' & 'Of Saint Steven'	<p>Latin 'Of Saint Laurence' excised but still legible.</p> <p>English 'Of Saint Steven' excised through picture and only one line of text.</p> <p>Latin versus 'Of Saint Steven' excised but still legible.</p>		
Gii ^v	<i>Collettes</i> , 'Of Saint Mary Magdalene'? &	English 'Of Saint Mary' excised but still legible.		

	'Of Saint Nicholas'	<p>Latin 'Of Saint Mary' excised but still legible.</p> <p>Latin 'Of Saint Nicholas' excised but still legible.</p>		
I ^v	<i>Houres</i> , 'The ninth hour of the compassion of our Lady'.			'Abba my father all thyngs John Osborne'
L ^v & Lii ^r		There is evidence that a page has been removed between li verso and lii recto, however the signatures are uninterrupted.	Likely marginalia.	
Liii ^v & Liiii ^r	Three pages have been ripped out between liii and liiii	There is evidence that three pages have been removed between liii verso and liiii recto, however the signatures are uninterrupted.	Likely marginalia.	
Liiii ^v	Evensong, 'The song of our Lady'.			'John Manorye of Worpleston in the Countie of Surre' along outside edge of page.

				Faded marginalia in top right hand corner, cut off when book trimmed.
M ^v	Evensong, 'Evensong of the holy cross'			<p>Latin marginalia across top margin of page: 'Jonora billa vera ignoramus' & 'billa vera'.</p> <p>Latin marginalia along the bottom margin of page: 'billa vera ignoramus' & 'billa ignoramus' (last ignoramus has been trimmed)</p>
Miiii ^r	<i>Complyn</i> , 'the song of Simon'			<p>Repeated notation of letter 'b' along top margin of page.</p> <p>'John Manory in Surrey' written along top margin of page.</p>
N ^r	<i>Complyn</i> , 'complyn of the cross'			<p>Latin marginalia along top of page: 'Maystez biastall'.</p> <p>'I have me comendyd unto him' written across top of page, final word is washed and trimmed.</p>
Nii ^r	<i>Complyn</i> , 'A prayer to the praise of our Lady'.	<p>The English prayer excised but still legible.</p> <p>The Latin verse excised but still legible.</p>		
Nii ^v	<i>Complyn</i> , 'A prayer to the praise of our Lady' continued.	The English and Latin excised but still legible.		

Niiii ^r	<i>Prayers, 'Seven spiritual joys of our Lady'</i>	English excised through in one single cut but still legible. Latin verse excised in two separate cuts but still legible.		
Niiii ^v	<i>Prayers, 'Seven spiritual joys of our Lady' continued & 'Prayer to the blessed Lady for the pestilence'.</i>	English of both 'Seven spiritual joys' and 'Prayer to the blessed Lady' excised, but both still legible. Latin of 'A prayer to our' excised but still legible.		
Rii ^r	<i>The XV psalmes, 'The CRRVI psalmes'.</i>			'The real split there is' indicated by a flourish above 'As it was at the beginning, //as it is now, and ever shall be. So be it'.
S ^r	The <i>Letany</i> , 'The signification of this worlde. <i>Letany</i> '.	English introductory paragraph excised but still legible. Triangular piece of leaf from centre of the page has been excised and completely removed.	English names of the three archangels: Michael, Gabriel and Raphael.	'Johanney' written in bottom right hand corner.

		Latin names of the archangels excised but still legible.		
S ^v	<i>Letany</i> , 'The signification of this worlde. <i>Letany</i> ' continued.	Excision through blank space and 'pray for us'. Triangular piece of leaf from centre of the page has been excised and completely removed. Latin names excised but still legible.	English names of Saint Sebastien and Saint Thomas removed.	
Siir	<i>Letany</i> (continued)	List of English Saint names has been excised.		'John Manory //hys boke of farnham' ^{ct} along top of page.

		List of Latin Saint names has been excised.		
Sii ^v	<i>Letany,</i> continued.	Last three lines of 'pray for us' and the beginning of the English text underneath (list has ended) have been excised. Latin text has been excised.		
Tiiiv	<i>Dirige</i>			Pen trials at top of page
Tiiii ^v	<i>Dirige</i>			Washed writing on bottom edge, indiscernible.
Uii ^r	<i>Dirige</i>			'John Manory hys boke of parysh' along top margin of page.
BB ^r	<i>Dirige</i>			Indiscernible Latin trimmed along top margin of page.
HHiiii ^r	<i>Prayers, 'Saint Bernadene'</i>	English verse excised but still legible.		'god be mercifull on me' written on top margin of page. Two lines of marginalia on outer margin of page have been washed and therefore are too faded to read. First line possibly starts with 'and God find you....'.

HHiiii ^v	<i>Prayers, 'Prayer unto the image of the body of Christ'.</i>	Upper half of English verse excised but still legible.		
Bii ^r	<i>Psalme</i>			Latin marginalia in top right hand corner 'holy littany'.
F ^v	<i>An exposicion</i>			Indiscernible pen trials along top of page and certain letters scribbled out of verse.

Appendix 3: Woodcuts and historiated initials

Here follows a table listing the woodcuts found in W/S-10-3 by page, section and a description.

Historiated initials are also included and indicated where this is so.

Page	Section	Description of Woodcut/historiated initial
+ii ^r	<i>The Commandments of God given by Moses</i>	'I' with horns/floral (historiated initial)
+iiii ^r	<i>The Symbole or Crede of the greate doctor Athanasius dayly red in the churche.</i>	Trinity Shield
Ai ^r	<i>A Preface</i>	'o' depicting a dragon (historiated initial)
Aiiii ^r	<i>The beginning of the holy gospel after Saint Johan I</i>	A man in a town, reading, overlooked by someone
B ^r	<i>Luke I</i>	Man with an ox
Bi ^v	<i>Matthewe 2</i>	Man reading to a divine man.
Bii ^r	<i>Mark XVI</i>	Scribe seated with a winged lion
Bii ^v	<i>The Passion</i>	Jesus, barefoot, being marched past a crowd by soldiers
Ciiii ^r	<i>An invocation unto the holy trinity</i>	Jesus nailed to the cross.
D ^r	<i>The Mityns</i>	Mary and baby Jesus (and a dove) with a book being visited by an angel. 'Plena gracia ave'.
Eiii ^r	<i>The Laudes</i>	A divine man holding the hands of a divine woman
Fiiii ^r	<i>The Collettes 'Of the holy ghoste'</i>	Dove descending from heaven
Fiiii ^r	<i>The Collettes 'Of the holy trinity'</i>	Jesus nailed to the cross (same as Ciiii ^r)
Fiiii ^v	<i>The Collettes 'Of the holy cross'</i>	Jesus nailed to the cross, with blood coming out of his side, a woman praying and a woman crying beside him. The blood is red.
Fiiii ^v	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint Michael the archangel'</i>	Armoured Michael the Archangel piercing a demon with his spear
G ^r	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint John Baptiste'</i>	Man seated, holding papers and a very small animal
G ^v	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint Andrewe'</i>	A man carrying a cross

G ^v	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint John Evangelist'</i>	A man reading, overlooked by someone (same as Aiii ^r)
Gii ^r	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint Lawrence'</i>	A man beneath an alter, reading and leaning on a four-pronged sceptre.
Gii ^r	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint Steven'</i>	A man reading beneath an alter holding a large palm leaf
Gii ^v	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint Nicholas'</i>	A bishop with his staff blessing a congregation.
Gii ^v	<i>The Collettes 'Mary Magdelene'</i>	A divine woman holding an object.
Giii ^r	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint Katherine'</i>	Saint Katherine reading and holding a sword
Giii ^r	<i>The Collettes 'Of Saint Margaret'</i>	A woman holding a cross, standing over a lion with fabric in its mouth
Giiii ^r	<i>The Collettes 'Of all Saints'</i>	An ornate table surrounded by horns and fruit vines, marks the end of the section
Giiii ^v	<i>Matyns of the Crosse</i>	Jesus on the cross, same as Fiiii ^v minus the blood on the hip, but blood on the floor and on the loin cloth, also in red.
Hi ^v	<i>Houres 'the hours of our lady'</i>	Mary and Joseph praying over baby Jesus in a stable surrounded by animals
I ^r	<i>Houres 'The third hour'</i>	The three shepherds being visited by Gabriel
liv ^r	<i>Houres 'The syxte hour of our lady'</i>	The wise men visiting Mary and baby Jesus in the stable
Kiii r	<i>Houres 'The ninth hour of our Lady'</i>	The baptism of baby Jesus
L ii ^r	<i>Evensong</i>	Mary and baby Jesus riding on the donkey led by Joseph (marks start of section)
Mii ^v	<i>Complyn</i>	Jesus surrounded by the disciples, with holy bird descending from heaven above.
Nii ^r	<i>Complyn 'A prayer to the praise of our Lady'</i>	Mary seated with baby Jesus in front of a pillared scene.
Oii ^r	<i>The xv prayers of Saint Brygyde</i>	Woman kneeling at an alter, praying; (floral vines in the Latin)
Pii ^v	<i>The Seven penetal psalms 'The vi psalm'</i>	A naked woman being spied upon by a king
Tiii ^r	<i>Dirige 'The C xiiii psalm'</i>	Death with his spear, piercing a man in a graveyard
BBiii ^v	<i>Dirige 'The Cxli psalm'</i>	Man holding Jesus nailed to the cross (same as Ciii ^r and Fiii ^r)

BBiiii ^r	<i>The Commendations 'The C xix psalm'</i>	Historiated initial of 'B' with floral vines
DDiiii ^r	<i>The psalms of Christs Passion 'The xxi psalm'</i>	Historiated initial of 'O' with leaves
Ffiii ^r	<i>The psalter of Saint Jierome</i>	A man with a sceptre beside a sheep
HHiiii ^r	<i>Prayers (2) 'devout prayer of Saint Bernadene'</i>	Man with an orb making a blessing
HHiiii ^v	Prayer unto the image of the body of Christ	Historiated initial 'O' with floral decor
A ^r	<i>An expositions</i>	Historiated intial 'A' with vines, Latin historiated initial 'I' with horns.

Appendix 4: Surrey County Archive Documents

The following table lists the documents currently held in the Surrey History Centre pertaining to the Manory family with their archival reference, date, and a summary of content.

Reference	Date	Location	Summary	Manory
K44/2/1	Between 1467 and 1469	Cobham	Cartulary of deeds relating to Manor of Cobham.	William Manory
212/33/3	1469	EstCompton (East Compton)	Conformation, 2 crofts of 2 acres of land.	John Manory
1509/4	28 th November 1502	Manor of Poyle, Tongham, Seale and Ash.	Calendar description of exemplification of recovery.	Thomas Manory
G101/1/9/1	12 th February 1503	Manor of Poyle in Tongham and land in Tongham, Seale, and Ash.	Quitclaim, warranty against Abbot of Westminster and his successors.	Thomas Manory
G101/1/9/2	4 th February 1507	Manor of Poyle in Tongham and land in Tongham, Seale, and Ash	Quitclaim	Thomas Manory

212/33/4	20 th February 1508	EstCompton and Ash	Quitclaim	Granted to Edmund Manory by father John Manory
212/33/5	24 th September 1518	EstCompton and Ash	Quitclaim	Granted to Edmund Manory by father John Manory
212/85/1	18 th August 1571	8 acres of land I Puttenham.	Bargain and sale with bond attached.	John Manory junior of Chiddingfold, tailor, son and heir of Stephen Manory of Puttenham, husbandman, deceased who was son of Thomas Manory of Puttenham, yeoman, deceased
212/117/16	4 th December 1577	Wyke, Worplesdon	Counterpart bargain and sale	Thomas Manory

			subject to fee farm rent	
LM/348/153/2	20 th April 1583	Hill Place, Tyting, Polsted and Westbury in parishes of Horsell, Compton, and St Martha's Guildford	Grant during pleasure by Sir William More of Loseley, of offices of Baliff, Receiver, and Supervisor with fee of 10s pa.	Robert Manory
212/4/7	15 th November 1598	Messuage or tenement with barn, garden, orchard, and 4 closes of land, Glasiers Mede/ Glasiers Lane, Worplesdon (Guildford)	Bargain and sale with bond attached	Robert Manory
212/4/8	28 th December 1598	Small parcel of land in Glasiers Mead	Feoffment	Robert Manory
6729/9/30	19 th June 1605	Loseley	Letter from Thomas	Unknown- likely Robert Manory,

			[Cooper], Bishop of Winchester, to Sir George More, Loseley. Request for new gamekeeper, previous keeper Rogers, deceased, bought the position from Manory (alive, but now inappropriate).	previous servant of Loseley.
212/4/9	20 th January 1613	Piece arable of 11 acres of Glasiers Close and parcel of adjoining meadow of 5 acres.	Deed to lead uses of a fine.	Robert Manory of Worplesdon, gent, and Mary his wife, and John Manory his brother
212/48/12	18 th March 1667	West Street, Farnham; close of hopground of 1 acre thereto adjoining	Grant for life from a messuage or tenement, divided into 4 tenements.	James Manory the elder of Farnham, tanner James Manory, his son.

		occupied by John Manory		John Manory
212/48/31	26 th October 1687	Farnham	Bond in 70 to fulfil covenants	John Manory